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IOHANNIS WYCLIF

TRACTATUS

DE APOSTASIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MSS.

1343 AND 3935.

BY

MICHAEL HENRY DZIEWICKI.

LONDON.

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Contents of the Introduction.

INTRODUCTION.

De Apostasia, which is now printed for the first time, has been hitherto known to the public only by Shirley's valuable catalogue of Wyclif's works. His notice, however, is not without a few errors, which ought to be corrected first of all, before I make any further remarks concerning the editing of the work, and the work itself.

It runs thus: "*De Apostasia.* In two chapters. *Incipit:* Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium. *Desinit:* fratrum commodum quoad deum. — MSS. *Vienna:* CCXCII, ff. 37—124; CCCX, ff. 49—128. *Univ. Prague:* III F. 11, ff. 70—134; III G. 11, ff. 208—220. *Trin. Coll. Dub.:* C. 1, 24, pp. 293—310. — The Prague MSS. seem both to be imperfect. — *Auth.* Author's name on the Vienna MSS.; Walden, *De Sacramentis,* passim; Bale, title only."

On p. 63, he quotes the Vienna catalogue: "Undecima, de Apostasia, 18 capp. *Restat* .... in fine, *hoc venerabili sacramento*".

The corrections are as follows: There are 17 chapters, not 2 nor 18; the second chapter ends with *fratrum commodum* &c.; the seventeenth, as in the Vienna catalogue. The Vienna MSS. are respectively CCCXCII (or cod. 1343) and CCCCX (or cod. 3935). There are three MSS. at Prague University, the one omitted here being C. 73: only one of the three (III G. 11) is imperfect, ending at about the middle of the second chapter. — C. 1, 24, Tr. Coll. Dub. is imperfect, breaking off at the end of the second chapter. The author's name is only in *cod.* CCCXCII; in CCCCX, C. 73 and III F. 11. there are his initials.

For the sake of uniformity with the other works published by the Wyclif Society, I have lettered these MSS. in the various readings. Thus, cod. 1343 (or CCCXCII) will in future be A; this was the MS. copied for the text of the work. Cod. 3935 (or CCCCX) is B; C. 73 is C; III F. 11 is D; III G. 11 is E; and Tr. Coll. Dub. C. 1, 24 is F.

I.

I may now briefly describe the six MSS., from indications kindly supplied by Dr. Herzberg-Fränckel, of the Imperial Library, Vienna, who transcribed the work, and by the various collators. And here I wish to acknowledge the great pains taken both by the transcriber and the collators, which has considerably lightened my task; though I did not think it worth while to preserve all the various readings. Some presented only a philological or palaeographic interest; most of these have been set aside. They become much rarer after the end of the second chapter, when both E and F are wanting; it is unfortunate, as these two seem to have been copied from sources independent of the rest, and often give us the right sense when the others are at fault. Many a doubtful sentence would probably have been explained, had these been complete. The readings of C and D are comparatively the least useful; B serves on many occasions to supplement the text of A.

A belongs to the same collection as the MS. of Poole's *De Dominio Civili,* and his general description of that MS. may be applied to this. The title of the work, in red ink, on f. 37, runs thus: *Incipit tractatus de apostasia, liber XI* (meaning that it is the eleventh book of Wyclif's *Summa Theologica*). At the end, on f. 124, there are the words: Explicit tractatus de apostasia magistri Johannis Wiclef doctoris ewangelici. This is written in the same hand as the text. Lower down, there is: *Respice finem,* 1517, in a later hand, followed by some cyphered writing, perhaps the owner's name, or some indications relative to the scribe himself. The handwriting and other external peculiarities of the MS. are identical with those of the Nimburg collection, near Kolin, in Bohemia.

B. Paper, each sextern enclosed in leaf of parchment; binding, leather and boards. At the beginning, inside the cover, stands an index of the works contained in the volume, in XVth century writing: a proof that the binding dates at least as far back. Beneath, there is written: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. De Blasfemia, cap^{o} 15 substancialiter corporaliter ibi corpus Christi.* These words are the same as a marginal note on f. 201. One date in the volume (1453, Assumpcionis) points to the middle of the XVth century as the time

at which it was copied; this is also borne out by the handwriting. De Apostasia, De Blasfemia, and the side-notes, are all in the same good steady hand. Two columns to each page.

C. A paper folio volume, belonging to the Chapterhouse library, Prague (Domcapitelbibliothek) and containing *De Blasphemia, De Apostasia* (ff. 76 c—151 a), *De hostia consecrata ad Urbanum VI, De potestate Pape* (not entire) and *De Prophetia.* Written in two columns, in a good legible hand, of about the beginning of the XVth century. At the end of *De Blasphemia* are these words in Bohemian *vtyess tye buoh* (God comfort thee!) and after *De Prophetia: Neb gest toho dobrze hoden* (for he is well worthy thereof).

D. A paper MS.; small 4to; belongs to the University Library, Prague. Same contents as C; probably a copy from it, made a few years later. Handwriting much inferior, with many mistakes. Two columns on each page. *De Apostasia* begins f. 70 b and ends f. 136 b.

E. A paper MS., small 4to; also belonging to the Prague University Library. Contents: extracts from Wyclif, Huss, Origen, Chrysostom, &c. Three different hands: from beginning to f. 154 b; from 154 b to 286 a and from 286 a to 286 b. Probable date of writing: 1425 to 1445. The fragment of *De Apostasia* that is here begins at f. 209 b, and ends f. 221 b. Dr. Buddensieg has described this MS. in his Introduction to *Wyclif's Polemical Works.*

F. Written in good legible hand, though much abridged; date, XVth century; on parchment, much stained in some parts. Binding, leather and boards. Contains *De Veritate Scripture, De Simonia, De Apostasia* (pp. 292—310), and *De Blasphemia.* Numerous corrections, carefully made; in a similar hand, if not in the same. A blank space is left for initial letters all through the MS.; there are therefore no illuminations. Frequent marginal notes. Verso of p. 305 and recto of p. 306, very much stained.

With the aid of these various readings, I have sought to make up a text easily intelligible to the reader. In general, I have departed from the reading given by A only when it is evidently wrong and one or more of the other MSS. seem to give a better; in a few instances I have risked a guess, and set all the readings aside as faulty; always, of course, giving notice of the fact by a foot-note. But before I proceed to say anything of the work itself, I must

gratefully acknowledge the kind and assiduous help supplied to me by Mr. F. D. Matthew, whose great knowledge of all that concerns the *Doctor Evangelicus* has been invaluable, at the same time that his unwearying patience with an inexperienced editor was very encouraging. I do not know if it is possible to be more indebted to anyone than I have been to him; and the work finished, my most hearty thanks are due to him principally: not forgetting what I owe to Dr. Furnivall, the Founder of the Wyclif Society, and in general to all those who have contributed to the editing of this work.

II.

De Apostasia is the eleventh of a series of theological works called by Wyclif *Summa Theologica;* but this series bears no resemblance either in scope or in plan to the great masterpiece of Aquinas. They are merely an exposition of such of his theological opinions as differed from the views generally held, set forth with a great deal of polemical vigour, and (in some cases at least) without any attempt at a regular plan. They are besides coloured to a very great extent by the writer's personal feelings at the time, so that, for instance, the tone of *De Apostasia* is moderation itself when compared with *De Blasphemia*, that seems to have followed it shortly after; and they usually contain some allusions to contemporary circumstances that enable us to fix the date of the work with more or less precision. Thus, in the case of the present work, Wyclif alludes to a certain *cruciatum langwidum infinitum.* A crusade, he says, was going on at the time, but in a very languishing manner. Now from these words we may gather, as exactly as possible, the date of a composition which must have cost many months' work, even to a man of Wyclif's facility and exuberance of thought; for in the year 1383, Bishop Spenser preached a crusade throughout England, to be undertaken in Flanders on behalf of Urban VI against the antipope Robert of Geneva. It lasted from May to October; it was hailed with much enthusiasm and began with 60,000 volunteers; but it soon met with difficulties. When the first bad news reached England, towards the beginning of August, Wyclif was writing his *De Fundacione Sectarum* (see W's Pol. Works, p. 7). The disaster was only known in October. Here we may note his extraordinary activity. As we see,

De Apostasia, and *De Fundacione Sectarum*, a tract of 80 pages, were both writing at the same time; simultaneously appeared his tract *De Cruciata* (44 pages). *De Dissensione Paparum* belongs to the same time, though perhaps it is a little earlier, according to Dr Buddensieg. *De septem donis Spiritus Sancti* (22 pp.) was written immediately after *De fundacione Sectarum*, between July and October, 1383; without mentioning several other short works, written either in the spring or in the autumn of the same year. Few men have worked so much as Wyclif; for this outpour was not limited to one year or to one period only; it embraces the whole of the man's career.

This work itself possesses peculiar interest, on account of the great length at which Wyclif discusses the doctrine of Transsubstantiation. It is by no means easy at first sight to perceive his exact position, especially when we see him adhering with great energy to the condemnation of Berengarius, and not only asserting the real presence of Christ in the Host, but even using the very word *transsubstantiation* (p. 58, l. 17, and elsewhere); while at the same time he asserts that the substance of bread remains, denies impanation, and says that Christ is present only in figure. But, though I cannot deny that Wyclif, like every man who ventures on so vast a task as framing a scheme of religion for himself, often is and must be inconsistent, yet I think that the careful study of *De Apostasia* will clear away most of the seeming contradictions to which I have just alluded, and show how what is contradictory to us, is not so to him.

To understand it completely, we ought to possess the light of his philosophical works, which have not yet been published. We all know that he was a Realist, and this fact bears an important part in the explanation of his system; but how far he ventured beyond the very moderate Realism of Aquinas, or the system, hardly less cautiously reserved, of his Franciscan rival, Scotus, remains yet to be ascertained. From this point of view, we might regret that the philosophical works of Wyclif were not published first; but it was evidently impracticable to delay the appearance of his best known works until the long series of his forgotten books on scholastic philosophy was exhausted.

In proceeding to give an analysis of *De Apostasia*, I ought to point out that the work cannot properly be said to have a plan, in

the sense of dealing with certain subjects in one part to the exclusion of others. It looks more like a series of scholastic debates upon Transsubstantiation, to which the first two chapters form the introduction by an attack upon the friars, who are responsible for this heresy, as Wyclif calls it. If it were not so, I should be quite at a loss to see how a man of even a weak memory could so often repeat the same arguments, refute the same objections, and use the same invectives, over and over again, in almost the very same words. These repetitions have decided me to undertake the analysis, after the first two chapters, in a very free manner. I intend adding all remarks that I think useful to point out Wyclif's exact position, so far as I understand it; at the same time, I shall only notice in each chapter those arguments that have not been dealt with before. For such readers as should wish for a more complete summary, there are abundant side notes.

Ch. I. Apostasy, according to Wyclif's theory, is but a general denomination for every grievous sin, in so far as it loosens the bond of religion between God the Father and man; similarly, blasphemy (sinning against the Son) and simony (against the Holy Ghost) are not specific sins, but mere aspects of every mortal sin. The book examines (1), Apostasy in itself (ch. 1, 2); and (2), Apostasy in its chief result (chs. 3—17). This divides the whole work into two very distinct parts; for Wyclif looks upon the theory of Transsubstantiation, as understood by the Friars, as the great effect of the apostasy which he contended was general throughout the Church; but he first of all deals with the Friars as the most notorious apostates. To do so, he takes two definitions, one for each of the first two chapters; the first defines apostasy by means of its contrary — religion; the second is the definition given by Holy Writ.

Religion may be defined either as the simple observance of Christ's law, or of certain rites and ceremonies superadded thereto This second observance Wyclif calls *private religion*, and then examines certain questions relative to those called 'religions' in the second sense; some of these questions seem useless, but all, as we shall see, tend to establish his proposition: *A man may, without apostasy, leave any of these private religions.* Of this the converse appears in the second chapter: *A man may, without leaving any private*

religion to which he belongs, incur apostasy. Both these propositions seem intended to bring over to Wyclif's band of 'poor priests' some wavering Franciscans or Dominicans, who, struck and attracted by his austere doctrines, were yet held back for fear of apostasy. This hypothesis is strengthened, *first,* by the comparative moderation in tone to which Wyclif keeps all through the book, *second,* by several passages that we shall notice as we go on, and *third*, by the general tendency and evident *à propos* of the arguments. [1]

Preliminary Question: Whether the habit is essential to religion (pp. 3—9). I. Whether 'religious' life is better than ordinary Christianity (pp. 9—13); II. Whether it would not be better for those Orders not to exist (pp. 13—16), and III. Whether perpetual vows are expedient (p. 16—19).

Preliminary Question. The Decretal treats as apostates those who put off the habit; orders that are distinct, though professing the same rule, can be distinguished only by the habit; and to practise the contrary doctrine would produce confusion. But, on the other hand, religion is in the soul; apostasy cannot depend upon bodily clothing; if it could, any change in the habit would (an absurd consequence) produce a corresponding change in religion; and were the habit essential, even the Pope could not grant a dispensation. It is therefore not so, but only the external characteristic by which the Orders are known to differ. What distinguishes them is their obligations, e. g. to wear certain clothes. So far, Wyclif is quite orthodox; but his corollary, viz. that anyone may, without permission or dispensation, set aside the habit of his Order, is not. The Pope has no power granted him for evil; but it is manifestly evil to punish a man for having laid aside a mere sign. '*And yet, some are called apostates, who have done so, in order to live more piously in a more devout community.*' He goes on to complain loudly of their imprisonment as illegal, encroaching upon kingly rights, and contrary to the Christian law. From some passages in *De Blasphemia* it appears that Wyclif's propaganda amongst the monks was very active at this time; he avails

[1] This of course was not Wyclif's *only* intention in writing the first two chapters; but it seems probable that the idea was in his mind, and influenced him to some extent.

himself with much skill of every motive they could have to be discontented with their Superiors. On the other hand, it would appear from these lines that his activity was met by activity in the opposite direction, and that a Friar could not go over to Wyclif without considerable personal danger.

I. 'Religious' life is not better than ordinary Christianity; for the latter is more simple, more necessary, and more authorized. Monks strive to become Bishops, i. e. to be loosed from their vows and return to ordinary Christianity; if that were apostasy, they could not be allowed to do so. And the objection that monks keep the law of Christ and add thereto, is worthless; they add, as it were, a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building.

II. Would it not be better if no Orders existed? That they were founded by Saints, proves nothing in their favour. Saints are not infallible, and may have sinned. These orders have indeed produced many Saints; but a bad father may have a good son. The Pope has confirmed them *for ever;* i. e. as long as God shall will their existence; besides, we must suppose that the Pope approved what was praiseworthy in them, not their defects. They ought to be suppressed on account of their members' inordinate love for their own sects, which causes dissensions in the Church, and is a sort of idolatry.

III. Perpetual vows are not expedient. Obedience is good, if rendered to God, not if to man; or if to man, only in so far as it coincides with what is due to God. *So that sometimes it is a virtue to rebel.* Obedience rendered to a proud and worldly Superior is without merit, even when he commands what is good for his subject. Here Wyclif, before in strict agreement with Aquinas and Catholic theology in general, approaches nearer to heterodoxy, and denies that the virtue of obedience sanctifies an order given by a Superior, if he is a fool or an ignorant man.

Ch. II. If we recollect that it was the custom in old times to speak much more plainly than we do now; if we compare the conditional tone of this chapter (*if* the Friars have done these things . . .) with the unmeasured invective employed in some other works, and if we note the exception that Wyclif explicitly makes in favour of his friends in the cloister, we shall see that in the severe indictment of

the Friars that follows, there is nothing calculated to destroy the effect which the previous chapter may have produced upon the waverers; on the contrary, the thesis that apostasy is often, nay, almost always incurred within the convent-walls, must have acted in a very different way. This idea is developed somewhat in the form of a sermon or homily, with remarks, explanations and amplifications of the Scripture text (Prov. VI, 12—14): 1st *Homo apostata, vir inutilis* (pp. 20—24); 2nd *graditur ore perverso* (pp. 24—28); 3rd *annuit oculis* (pp. 28—31); 4th *terit pede* (pp. 31—35); 5th *digito loquitur* (pp. 35—39); 6th *pravo corde machinatur malum* (pp. 39—43); 7th *et omni tempore jurgia seminat* (pp. 43—45).

1st *Homo apostata, vir inutilis.* Uselessness and sins of omission, are the first marks of backsliding. The great omission that Wyclif cannot forgive the Friars is, that they refused to join with him in the war against Church possessions. They were instituted only to renew the life of the Apostles, in strict poverty; to that mission they ought to be faithful. It is a work of spiritual mercy, far more important than deeds of charity done to the body; yet Christ condemns those who omit the latter. Worse traitors than Judas, they betray Christ glorified; Christ, who came but to bear witness to the truth. — The fact is, Wyclif is so positive that the Church should not hold property, that he cannot understand how a body of men, poor in theory, can refuse to think as he does without being false to their own principles. He pictures them bringing forward a few miserably weak excuses. "Time, place, circumstances, do not allow them to speak. "But", he replies, with a burst of eloquence, "NOW is the right time; the Prince of this world has spread his armies throughout the whole universe, and the King of kings has promised to assist His Church even unto the end of the world. And John the Baptist and so many martyrs have striven in this cause, knowing that Truth overcometh all things. Then let a Christian excuse himself how he will; before Him that shall try the heart and the reins at the Last Judgment, this negligence and idleness will find no excuse."

He deals in the same manner with all the other excuses, very poor ones indeed. "No more remains to be done, since there are now no enemies of the Church; bishops should not be attacked; if

the Friars exasperate those that have possessions, "they will suffer for it." . . . *And therefore*, he concludes significantly (p. 24), *the religious and intelligent Friars break away from these apostates.*

2nd *Graditur ore perverso.* Sins of the tongue: lying, flattery, evil-speaking. *Lying* is dismissed with a few strong words; the proverb: 'A Friar has said thus and thus, so it is false', is quoted. The *flattery* here attacked is the flattery of the public, by sermons uttered to please, not to edify them. To relate fables and put human traditions in the place of God's word, is the very worst kind of flattery; thereby they become spirits of error, demons, or rather, as dead to the world, corpses wandering about, moved by a demon. They delight in repeating all *evil* they have heard; which is a still more grievous sin, if they are bound to silence.

3rd *Annuit oculis.* In a mystic sense, 'the eye' meaning the intention, to wink with the eye signifies to prefer private interest to the public good; for instance, when they entrap men, and especially boys, into their Order. This is at any rate a sin against prudence; for the persons thus influenced may have no call from God; and thus, though serving the order, they would harm the Church. Seeking our private welfare, sin can hardly be avoided; and *that is why civil ownership always savours of sin* (p. 30). Here incidentally we see a Socialistic conclusion that necessarily flows from Wyclf's principles; another appears still more clearly at the end of ch. 7. [1]

4th *Terit pede.* 'The foot' in Scripture signifies the affections, which are perverted amongst the Friars, who love temporal things; they beg clamorously, continually, shamelessly, for rich communities, in order to waste the money; and they refuse to share what they have with their poorer brethren, who have more right to ask alms of them than they of the people.

5th *Digito loquitur.* '*The finger*' taken in its mystic sense, means the power of acting. Three points in which the Friars go to excess: 1st Indulgences and absolutions. He who is contrite gets indulgence from God by the very fact; indulgences can only be of use when contrition exists already. 2nd They extol masses, penances, funerals, and all functions that bring them money. 3rd They 'make broad

[1] 'To savour of sin' however, does not mean *to be sinful* in Wyclif's language.

their fringes' by letters of fraternity, admitting laymen into the Order; but this is concealed simony, being based on the tacit understanding that the lay Brother will help them with his money: take that away, and their spiritual aid is withdrawn. But merit, God's grace, can be neither bought nor sold. And this has no connection with the payment given to oratory-priests, which they deserve.

6th *Pravo corde machinatur malum.* The root of all intrigues is sectarian feeling. They consider only their sect's advantage, and thus sin more grievously as a body than so many separate individuals. Christ lived with His Apostles, but He knew whom to choose and how to instruct them; and they were afterwards dispersed. The Friars are as bad as the endowed monks. Their union crushes even the most legitimate opposition, for they employ every influence to gain their point. And all are responsible for this. Some good men remain amongst them; *others fly in despair, but if taken are put to death or in prison for life.* A curious quotation follows, comparing the Friars to wild geese; then comes an urgent appeal to Wyclif's friends amongst them to help him in exposing the others.

7th *Et omni tempore jurgia seminat.* Wyclif accuses them of sowing divisions in their own order, wars throughout Christendom, and dissensions in the Church; he attempts to prove the latter point from history. They do good, but also harm; and we know by faith and God's grace that the latter exceeds the former. — All this has no bearing upon some Friars *who are Wyclif's most dear sons* (p. 44); but if any do what is here denounced, it is the Holy Spirit, not Wyclif, that calls them by the name of apostates. All this has been said for the good of the Church, and of the Friars themselves.

Ch. III. Though the Eucharistic debates are, so far as I can see, independent of each other, it is yet not impossible to introduce a little order amongst them by classifying them as they stand. The *first*, beginning with Ch. III and ending at the close of Ch. VII, is so to speak a general attack upon the then universally received theory of the Eucharist. The *second*, beginning with the VIIIth Ch. and ending with the end of the IXth, deals specially with the multiplication of Christ's body in the Eucharist. The *third* (Ch. X) is an enquiry into the essence or 'quiddity' of the Sacrament. The *fourth* (Chs. XI

to XV) is a more detailed attack on the accident-theory: going through many classes of accidents, Wyclif asserts that none can be absolute in the sense required. Chapters XV and XVI seem to be a written reply to some treatise or treatises composed against him. He carefully goes over all the authorities quoted by his adversaries, explains their meaning agreeably to his own views, and adds several very important remarks concerning his doctrine. Ch. XVII is principally a historical review of the institution of the Mass. Of course there is not a single chapter in which something extrinsical, either concerning the Friars, Church temporalities, or the power of the Pope, does not occur; but as I said before, unless something particularly worthy of notice comes to hand, I am obliged to confine myself to the main question and to overlook repetitions.

It is necessary to offer a few remarks as to the dogma of Transsubstantiation, and the philosophical theories connected therewith in the Catholic Church. Scholastic theologians were from the beginning in face of a universal belief in the real presence of Christ's Body in the Holy Eucharist; and that belief was borne out by the written tradition, both of the Fathers, of the Apostle Paul, and of the Gospels themselves. Here a difficulty occurred: the bread seemed to remain, assuredly; but if it remained *really*, how could Christ's body be *really* there? Nothing can be where it was not before, unless by a change of place, or by conversion of something else into itself.[1] Therefore, as Christ does not leave Heaven, the bread itself, remaining to all the senses as it was before, is changed into Christ's body; the substance, or as we might perhaps call it, the *noumenon* alone is changed, all the *phenomena* are what they were (Aq. S. Th. qu. 75, art. 2). This is a fresh mystery, which also requires to be explained: for how can appearances possibly exist, without anything that appears?

There is here a split amongst Catholic philosophers. The Scholastics answered the question thus: Every accident, while belonging to the substance, possesses a certain amount of reality, of entity, which is different from the latter; a bent finger being really different from a finger that is straight, that which makes the difference must

[1] This axiom Wyclif (p. 186, l. 2) is constrained to call heretical; for it is evidently in contradiction with his system, as we shall see.

be something real. Some of these realities are in their nature such that they cannot even be conceived without a subject; for instance, movement without something in motion is unthinkable. But we can imagine an accident of greater perfection than these, so that, though naturally requiring the support of a subject, its entity might miraculously exist, even were its substance to fail. From this results the Scholastic conception of quantity, which, according to Aquinas, remains in the Eucharist as the subject of form, colour, movement, taste, and all the other phenomena observed in the visible and tangible Host. The reader will of course ask: Can quantity exist without anything that *has* quantity? but the very question indicates that he has not sufficiently understood this hypothesis. Quantity is not a mere abstraction, nor a mere mode of being; it is quite different from *extension,* for it is that which *makes* extension, and may be defined as a force that extends material substance: *vis extensiva materie.* This force is really distinct from its substance, not as a mode differs from what it modifies, but as a thing differs from another thing, to which it belongs. Thus, after the words of consecration, the substance of bread is no longer there, but quantity takes its place, and upholds the other accidents naturally, being itself upheld by God's supernatural power; and therefore, whatever the bread could do, — even to feeding the body — is now performed by the quantity that remains (Cf. Th. Aq., S. Th., 3ª Pars, qu. 77, art. 1, 2, 3, 6). On the other hand, though St. Thomas admits that the bread is nowhere after consecration, he denies that it is annihilated, since it is changed into Christ's Body (ib. qu. 75, art. 3); which is hard to understand, and is not, I believe, an article of faith. Neither is it *de fide* to maintain, as he does, that Christ, though really present, is not *locally* present in the Host, either as a body (secundum modum commensurationis) or as a spirit (definitive) but rather as the substance of bread was present before — identical in every part of the volume it occupied (ib. qu. 76, art. 4, 5).

So long as the old School held its sway, this theory, however mysterious, however unsatisfactory it may appear, remained the most popular, and most of the explanations that sprung up to supersede it approached the confines of heresy, if they did not go beyond them. Descartes, however, was a sincere Catholic, and yet would not admit

the Scholastic theory of quantity. According to him, it may be remembered, actual extension was the very essence of bodily substance, and the idea of absolute accidents seemed as absurd to him as it does to Wyclif. In his celebrated *Réponses aux objections de M. Arnauld,* he gives several arguments very like those employed in *De Apostasia,* and concludes thus: "Therefore, if I may here speak my mind truly and simply, I venture to hope that a day will come when the opinion admitting real accidents will be banished by theologians as suspicious in faith, revolting to reason, and quite incomprehensible; while mine will be received in its place, as indubitably certain". His opinion, briefly stated, is as follows: The existence of a bodily substance is known to us only through the continual movements of its surface, which proceed from the underlying substance and produce sensation in us. Now, the surface belongs as much to the surrounding substance as to that which is surrounded. (A vacuum, according to Descartes, is absolutely impossible). Suppose therefore that Transsubstantiation consists 1st in the *taking away* (whether by annihilation or otherwise) of the bread-substance; 2nd in the conservation of the surface with all the movements that would have been imparted to it, had the bread remained; 3rd in the real presence of Christ below that surface; and you have an explanation which is intelligible to the mind, which does not contradict the belief that the bread disappears, nor the opinion held by most Fathers, that *aliquitas panis*, something of the bread, remains. For the surface *is* the same.

There are several other theories; but I may now sum up the principal, four in number, none of which have been condemned as heretical; at least I believe not.

1st That of St. Thomas, who, believing with Aristotle that the *esse* of an accident is, and is only, in the substance, seems to admit the production of a new entity, by which quantity would exist alone, and could not do so otherwise; which he calls, not *substance*, but *subsistence* (Sum. Th. 3^a^ Pars, qu. 77, art. 1. *Ad* 4^m^ *dicendum . . . .;* and Com. in Sent. l. 4, dist. 12, qu. 1, art. 2). This opinion is the nearest to Wyclif's, though not identical; for the one imagines a new *subsistence* coming to uphold the accidents; and the other conceives them as still upheld by the old *substance.*

2nd That of Scotus, to whom the theory of absolute accidents, as above set forth, is to be ascribed. (Cf. Migne, Dict. de Th. Scolastique, art. *Substance et accident.*)

3rd That of Descartes, and in general the theory that ascribes a certain outward movement, resistance, &c., in the place where the bread was, due to supernatural agency.

4th The theory of intentional (or imaginary) accidents, that have nothing corresponding in the external world, and are purely subjective; which is exposed to the double inconvenience of making all our senses lie by Divine agency, and of taking no account of the belief that the appearances remaining are something really objective.

With regard to these theories, we must remark that most of Wyclif's arguments are merely directed against absolute accidents and the theory of Aquinas; some, however, go further; as when he says that, bread being called bread only on account of its sensible appearances, if these remain, the name cannot rightly be changed. This is almost a foreshadowing of a modern philosophical school. Lewes, in his *Problems of Metaphysics,* says very decidedly, "A thing *is* its qualities"; which amounts to the very same.[1]

I may now begin to examine Wyclif's Eucharistic doctrine.

As the result, he says, of the general apostasy in this second millenary after Christ, Satan being loosed, dreadful heresies concerning the Eucharist have crept into the Church. The theory which affirms the destruction of the substance of bread and wine[2] is opposed to the words of the Church services and hymns, to St. Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and to the Gospels themselves. We ought to stand by Scripture; what Scripture, in six different places, declares to be bread, is bread. It is never called an accident, at any rate, as these lying masters say. If we begin to wrest words from their right sense, our faith will soon be perverted; for if the Pope has a right to do it in this case, why not in all others? Tradition too speaks likewise: Augustine,

[1] Though at present unable to identify the quotation, I am quite sure that it is in the work mentioned.

[2] We have already seen that St. Thomas formally denies annihilation, though in a very inexplicable way; it would therefore seem that Wyclif's opponents, either unawares or driven by the force of argument, had actually admitted it; the more so, as Wyclif alludes to this very often and very energetically.

Ambrose, Jerome, all use the same language; and Augustine calls the Eucharist Christ's Body *only in a certain way* (i. e. figuratively). John of Damascus says the bread and wine are joined to Christ's Body; and his example of a live coal, as wood united with fire, shows his position still more clearly. Even the words of this Saint, that 'the bread and wine are not a type, but the very body and blood of Our Lord', are to be understood in a figurative sense. A quotation from St. Ambrose, and a remark against the glossators who explain this Saint in the wrong way in several places, close the chapter.

Ch. IV. Continuation of the general thesis. After a protest against any authority but Holy Writ in matters of faith, the author brings in an argument which, under different forms, recurs very often in the book. Is *what we see* Christ's Body? If the adversaries answer Yes, he says: Then how can what we see be an accident without substance? Is Christ's Body an accident? And he points out (at least he does so in other places) the abject entity of an accident, which is lower than the vilest of substances, and less perfect than the worst poison: thus making of those who answer in the affirmative heretics of the most blasphemous sort. If, on the contrary, they answer No, then they admit that the visible and felt Sacrament has a nature which is not identical with Christ's Body; and this nature Wyclif calls the nature of bread. This argument is subtle and deserves attention, on account of the great stress our author lays upon it, and because, under another form, it may be and often has been used by philosophical controversialists. A man sees his friend in a mirror; being asked whom he sees, he answers, 'his friend'. The reply comes, 'Then your friend is only an image'. Or, 'Is this statue made by you'? — 'Yes'. 'Then you have made a piece of marble'. This class of arguments Aristotle calls fallacies *παρὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς*. And such arguments are very common indeed in metaphysical matters. Take, for instance, the subject of debate between Realists and Idealists at the present day: "What we perceive is only a modification of ourselves; now, what we perceive is the world; therefore, the world is only a modification of ourselves". It is clear that in any of these cases, to answer simply Yes or No, would be to stand committed to self-contradiction. We have, however, no interest in enquiring what the distinctions of Wyclif's opponents may or may not have been. On the other hand it is right,

I think, to point out that the Catholic Church really considers as idolatry the worship of the accidents *as such;*[1] and Aquinas (S. Th. 3ª pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye, even that of a glorified Saint. If Wyclif only meant that, and chose to call the Host, as the Fathers often do, by the name of bread — merely asserting Christ's invisible presence, and saying that what appeared was not Christ, not to be adored, and only the sign of his presence, he could say all that, and yet remain orthodox. In *De Blasphemia* (yet unpublished, but of which I have had the advantage of seeing the MS.) Wyclif inveighs with just reason against those priests who let the people believe that their bodily eyes, seeing the Host, saw Christ, because this erroneous belief contributed, as they thought, to increase devotion, although it could not be reasonably maintained. But it may be as well to point out that the sentence: "What you see is bread", may be emphasized either thus: "What you *see* is *bread*"; or thus: "What you see *is* bread"; and it was certainly in the second way that Wyclif emphasized it.

Here, in order to understand better the strength or the weakness of our author's position, a short synopsis of the whole system of Realistic Philosophy is necessary. When we have a universal idea, as of *man* or of *animal* in general, the *object* of our thought is also universal: *one,* though *existing in many* individuals. This, denied by Nominalists and Conceptualists, was affirmed by the whole school of Realistic philosophers. But they split into moderate Realists and ultra-Realists. The former, with Aquinas and Scotus at their head[2] asserted that the *One in Many,* as in the external world, and the *One in many,* as in our thought, exist in two absolutely contrary ways. For instance, in our mind, *animal* is really and formally one; only fundamentally and potentially does it exist in many, i. e. when our mind applies it to all the individuals A, B, C . . . Z, of which it

[1] I happened once to come across a French prayer-book in which there was this expression: *ces espèces (species) adorables;* these adorable *appearances.* Of course, we must allow for looseness and inexactitude in a mere book of piety; but I feel convinced that, taken as they stand, these words might be condemned as heretical.

[2] I take no note here of the minor, yet considerable differences that separate these two philosophers.

can be predicated. In the external world, the contrary takes place. *Animal* is really and formally as many different animals as there are ¡ndividuals A, B, C . . . Z; and it is only fundamentally and potentially[1] one, in so far as it gives a *foundation* by means of which, and the mind's abstractive power, it *can* become *one*. This, the reader may note, is not very far from Conceptualism, as expressed by some of its ablest exponents.

Now, this was not sufficient for the Ultra-Realists. They contended hat the Universal existed in the world of things in the same way as it did in the world of ideas. Of course there were many different varieties, school within school; Prantl says there were as many as thirteen shades of Realism. Some went very far. David of Dinant admitted the identity of God with matter and spirit, "because, if not identical, there would be a Universal Entity wider than all, which would be above God, as embracing both matter, Spirit, and God". "Guillaume of Champeaux taught", says Abélard, "that the same thing or substance was present in its entirety and essence in each individual, and that individuals differed no whit in their essence, but only in the variety of their accidents".[2] They seem to have made of the world a bundle of universal qualities, of which the presence in some things, combined with their absence in others, creates all the differences that individuate material and immaterial existences. I may not have understood them properly; but if I do, their world was composed of Universals much as the chemist's material world is made up of elements; with this difference, however, that the oxygen in a given drop of water and in a given specimen of marble are only absolutely similar, not identically the same. And then, there would be the

[1] I was much disappointed not to find, in the very able article on Scholasticism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the slightest mention of this distinction which is of supreme importance, as may easily be seen. All those distinctions between *universalia ante rem, in re,* and *post rem* are secondary. The great question which the opposite Schools had to answer was this: How can the same word, applied to *different* individuals, *mean the same thing?* Nominalists answer: It means the same thing i. e. the same *word;* Conceptualists say; It means the same thing, i. e. the same *idea*. Realists are forced (and I believe rightly) to say: It means the same thing, i. e. the same *object of the idea*.

[2] See Encycl. Brit., art. *Scholasticism*.

universal *Metalloid* present wherever there was *oxygen,* and in many compounds where oxygen was not: and so on. Wyclif admits this identity; at least *generic* identity, as he calls it. A man and a horse were indeed specifically distinct from each other; but they were generically identical, both having within them the element *animal,* meaning *the same thing* in both. That our author upheld this doctrine, even to the uttermost limits of making Being identical in all things, appears from his *De Ente Predicamentali,* now publishing, in which he affirms that Being is a univocal term, i. e. *means the same thing* in its individuals, like the other Universals. But if Being is the same and identical in all things, how is difference possible? It will be curious, when his philosophical works are published, to see how he manages to escape that pantheism to which the first ultra-Realists were driven. His doctrine of the Eucharist is an evident deduction from his Realism. Not to mention other points that will appear later, everyone admitted that an *aliquitas* of the bread remained in the Host; now this *aliquitas,* according to him, was identical with the aliquitas of Christ's Body that supervened: so there must in every case be a subject of the change, if it can be called a change. He develops a similar argument very cleverly and at some length in an account of a debate between himself and certain bishops, which I have copied from De Blasphemia to point out his doctrine more clearly; in *De Apostasia* he only alludes to it by the way.

"These heretics are said to condemn as heretical two propositions concerning the Eucharist . . . God moved a *certain secular Catholic doctor,* that he should not consent but contradict their foolishness. And he is said to have asked them if they intended to condemn as heretical the Saints' opinions respecting Universals *ex parte rei,* from which their signs take their names according to logicians. But they denied that, being ashamed. But he said: 'From this it follows that the substance of material bread remains in the consecrated Host. I say that the genus *substance* is wherever any individual of the genus is: But in the said Sacrament there is an individual of the genus *substance;* for, as you yourselves affirm, Christ's Body is there bodily; therefore the genus *substance* remains in the Host, and as it is a substance (because it is the essence of every material substance) it is thus bread. It follows that the substance of material bread

remains in the consecrated Host. And because they knew not how to remove this evidence, he sent them back as foolish men (De Blasphemia, c. 16)".

There would be many interesting questions connected with this theory of Wyclif, but it seems preferable to examine them as we go along, and continue the analysis for the present. — The chapter, a very short one, closes with two rather poor arguments. The sacrament is round, white, heavy, &c.; therefore it is the *subject* of roundness, &c. Evidently, only a logical subject is meant here. Still, Ens being univocal in Wyclif's theory, whatever is logical is real too; so, from his point of view, and his theory admitted, the argument may have weight. Again: if the Sacrament be the Body of Christ, and Christ's Body be thus without a subject, it follows that no Christian ought to be subject to Christ. Wyclif, feeling that many would set this aside as an idle quibble, points out that St. Peter uses the word subject in a sense relative to authority, and not as Aristotle uses it. But this argument seems to use it in both senses, and therein the fallacy would lie. He concludes by attacking the Friars with great vehemence for not stamping out this heresy; which negligence proves that they are either simoniacal heretics, or traitors of whom the land must be purged.

Ch. V. This chapter and the following ones until the eighth, are devoted to refuting the objections raised against Wyclif's theory. Grosseteste's authority, which is very great with Wyclif, probably on account of his resistance to the Pope in a certain well-known case of ecclesiastical discipline, is brought to bear against him. Here, however, and in general, whenever an authority is quoted, the candid reader will perhaps find that our author carries the liberty of explaining away texts that are against him rather too far. When Grosseteste and others affirm that the accidents exist *per se* in the Host, he adds, "that is, in the act of our mind's contemplation"; when they say that the bread and wine disappear, he makes this to signify "disappear from our mental vision". There is really no reason why he should not make his contemporary antagonists be also of the same mind as he was; for it is hard to conceive more expressive language than this. The fact is that Wyclif is much displeased with the glosses, of which he often complains, on account of the explanations they give to many

sentences that seem in his favour, thus turning them against him; and he no doubt wishes to show that, to use a homely expression, two can play at that game. Besides, his great contention is that Scripture alone is to be followed, and that both the Pope and the Fathers can mistake; so he is all the less scrupulous in explaining their words. If the explanation be unsatisfactory, they mistake, and that is all. — In the answer to the quotation of Grosseteste, we find a clue to his doctrine of the existence, at once figurative and real, of Christ's Body in the Host. After consecration, he says, we think Christ's Body present, the bread having become the sign of that presence. Time, the Universal, and the Sensible, have no actual and real *esse,* except in so far as the mind knows them; and so it is of the *esse* of every sign, *qua tale.* And yet every sign, besides the real *esse* that it acquires on becoming a sign, has also an independent natural *esse.* Thus, the bread being the sign of Christ's Body is Christ's Body in reality, according to Wyclif's system; while, at the same time it is mere bread from another point of view. Logically, I suppose that Wyclif would admit that a statue has two entities; the one, as being of stone, &c., shaped in a certain fashion; the other, as representing this or that person. St. Dionysius is also explained in the same manner; St. Ambrose likewise (pp. 62—65). Innocent III may have declared that the accidents remain without a subject; but besides his accustomed explanation of the sense (see above, for Grosseteste), Wyclif points out: 1st that any other sense would imply annihilation, which is inadmissible; 2nd that Innocent neither spoke by inspiration, nor grounding his decision on Scripture; and that therefore, 3rd he may have been as wrong as when he levied a tribute of 900 marks upon England.[1] Here Wyclif goes out of his way to deplore the growing perversity of the times, the doctors that uphold lying in Oxford, and the multiplication of heretics who consent to simony; concluding that Innocent's decree went no farther than did Nicolas' decision against Berengarius; and that if it did, we ought to respect it only in so far as it agrees with Scripture (pp. 65—68). When, v. g. Innocent goes beyond Scripture to determine doctrines

[1] Wyclif often returns to those 900 marks, which evidently rankle in his memory, as a good patriot. See p. 204, l. 20—23.

relative to the Holy Trinity, as in the Lateran Council, he would have done better to have let the matter alone, and contented himself with reforming the Church. It were blasphemy to say that all decrees of the Roman Pontiff are infallible; if he goes beyond Scripture, he is probably wrong. The antiquity, sanctity and science of the Roman See proves nothing as to infallibility (pp. 68—74). Notwithstanding the violent language that Wyclif very often employs with regard to the Roman Curia, and his evident disbelief in the dogma of infallibility, he generally admits the Decretals as binding, and even (p. 175) speaks vaguely of admitting the decision of a general Council on the Eucharistic question. Still, his principle of the necessity of personal righteousness (or rather of *predestination*), of which we never can be certain, to constitute a true Priest, Bishop or Pope, strikes at the root of all belief as to the infallibility even of a general Council; for we are never sure whether all — or even any — of the members of a Council are members of the Church at all. Should they decide in our favour, we might indeed believe that they were; but if they decide against us, they cannot be members of the Church. This shows that, though widely different in its starting-point and first principles from the Protestant forms of thought that had so much vogue at a later period, Wyclif's system is no less antagonistic *in practice* to the authority of the Church. Wyclif says explicitly: We must obey the Head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ. But that Vicar of Christ is the holiest, the most God-enlightened man in Christendom; which the Popes are certainly not.

Ch. VI. One objection against the reality of the presence ascribed by Wyclif to the power of the sign, is that Christ would be equally present in Holy Writ, which is His Word and His manifestation. The answer is not hard to find; there can be no equality, after Christ's express declaration. Any bread might be taken as the sign of Christ's Body (spiritual food); but "not every bread is consecrated with a mystic prayer", as Augustine says. If the argument ran otherwise, however; if Wyclif were asked whether any piece of bread, looked at by a Christian as the image of Christ, food of our souls, would be not equally but really Christ's Body, he would, I believe, have had consistently to answer in the affirmative. To point out this more clearly by an illustration, the Crucifix ought to be adored on

account of the real presence of Christ therein, less perfect than in the Host, but still real; since it really is a sign, an image of Christ, and that figurative entity constitutes a real presence, as we have seen. "Universals exist in the thing *as they exist in the mind*". Thus, we find in the next paragraph how he replies to the objection that in his system the whole world (including not only inanimate things, but good and bad men, and even devils) is a manifestation of God, and is consequently to be adored. He points out (pp. 72—73), that, according to the Apostle (I. Cor. VI, 28) Christ will after the Judgment Day be *omnia in omnibus;* which Wyclif takes to signify that Christ's Humanity will exist figuratively in every point of mundane space; and that (though he only expresses an opinion) this existence will extend only to the Blessed; so that, by His union with them, He will become the whole human race. Why this existence should be extended only to the Blessed, Wyclif does not stop to consider; nor does he explain why Christ will become the whole human race only *after* the Judgment, when, as may be seen at length in *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, Christ's assumption of the Universal "Humanity" really common to all men, identified Him with the whole human race from the very first instant of His conception. Probably the difficulties resulting from Christ's identification with such members of humanity as are reprobate, induced Wyclif somewhat to modify his theory; for it must be remembered that *De Benedicta Incarnatione* is one of his earliest theological works.

A long quotation follows (pp. 73—75) from a work called *De Divinis Officiis,* which is absent from the extant copies of that work. I was at great pains to identify this particular quotation, on account of the beauty of the passage, which is really admirable by its eloquence; but unfortunately I had to give it up. Some student of the Fathers may perhaps know at a glance whose it is by the very style; but for one little versed in that branch of study, and with no indication but the doubtful one given by Wyclif, who ascribes it to Ambrose, such a search is not likely to be always successful. From this passage, which he contends is completely in his favour, he goes on to bring forward again his theory of the binding of Satan (which means, he says, the diminution of his power to tempt man). During the first millenary after Christ, Satan was bound; now he is free, and the consequences to the Church are terrible. Gog and Magog (signifying

Antichrist and his accomplices) have led it astray from Christ (pp. 76—78). It has often been remarked by editors of Wyclif, that "Gog", "Magog", "Antichrist", "satraps" are merely general expressions used by him to denote any persons following tendencies which he considers to be deleterious to the Church, and especially those who happened to be their chief exponents. But I do not know whether the influence of his general philosophical position on this view has been much noticed. As an ultra-realist, Wyclif was bound to call Antichrist any man who concentrated in himself the most of the Universal, "Antichristianism", which, we must never forget, was a non-entity, existing in its subjects as a defect. This explains how Wyclif, though he often personifies that non-entity in a vague manner, never thinks of attaching it to any particular institution, as, v. g. some Protestants, calling the Popes Antichrists, and admitting that individual Popes may be good men, are bound to admit that 'some Antichrists may be saved'; a most astounding conclusion, from which Wyclif's principle "In so far as any man is contrary to Christ, in so far is he Antichrist", always saved him. This may also explain why he never falls into those personalities in which Luther so frequently indulges, and why the names of the lower animals, coupled with those of his opponents, never degrade his pen.[1] To him, the Universal, as real as each particular personal entity, is far more important on account of its wide spreading influence for good or for evil. It is a curious fact that Luther, so remarkable in an opposite way, is said by Melanchthon to have even during his monastic life preferred the Nominalist Occam to all other doctors.

The chapter ends with a short discussion about a particular theory which, so far as I am aware, never had any great notoriety, and which Wyclif easily proves to be self-contradictory. It holds that the bread and wine remain after consecration, but not in their nature; they become an accident. But, Wyclif argues, if it is admitted that the white colour which they see is bread, then the nature of bread must remain. And if the bread is the Body of Christ, it is no longer an accident; if not Christ's Body, we fall into the error of Berengarius.

[1] Not that he had no talent of invective. His opponents in this very volume are treated *in general* as wild geese, magpies, mad dogs (28, 42, 82).

If it is meant that the very nature of bread becomes an accident, that is absurd; the very idea of nature implies substance: unless indeed they meant (which they do not) "becomes an accident *in the minds* of the faithful". They indeed hold with Wyclif that bread is Christ's Body; but they degrade that bread into the lowest of entities, whereas he maintains its natural perfection. This heresy, expounding Scripture against the Spirit and the interpretations of the early Fathers, is absurd in its consequences and worthy of punishment by fire (pp. 78—81).

Ch. VII. In this chapter Wyclif keeps closely to his plan of answering all objections drawn from authority (here Gregory and Augustine) in the same way; pointing out contradictions with other passages, explaining the sense by a distinction and (implicitly at least) appealing to Scripture: with the difference that he here denies the authenticity of the work *De Eucharistia* ascribed to St. Augustine, and is probably in the right; though I have not been able to identify the passage that he quotes (pp. 82—86). He then attacks, not without reason, the Nominalistic explanation of the text "As often as ye shall eat of that bread", making it refer to Christ, because the same material bread can be eaten only once. Occam's disciples, who said that every substance is in its nature individual, and universal only in the mind, would of course not admit that any one could eat the *same* bread several times. Wyclif and all the Realists, on the contrary, maintaining that the essence of the bread already eaten is identical with that which is to be eaten, assert that the manducation of the same bread can take place more than once. He takes great pains to prove his assertion by quotations and arguments (pp. 86—90); and then, setting on the responsibility of the Nominalists all the corruption of the Church, he launches into a digression concerning temporalities, arguing that the clergy should have all things in common, and refuse endowments. To the possible objection that his arguments go so far as to prove that even temporal lords ought to have all things in common, he answers boldly: *So they ought* (p. 91). It is clear that he neither overlooked nor shrank from the Socialistic consequences of his doctrine.[1]

[1] There being infinite shades of Socialism, the word is not used here in any invidious sense. It is certain that Wyclif was practically a strong upholder of social *order*, as all his works show; and so are some Socialists at the present day.

Ch. VIII. It is a Catholic doctrine that Christ's Body is present, complete in all its parts, at every point of the Host; thus being multiplied indefinitely, as many times as there are points in the Host, and as there are different parts of the world, yet all the time remaining only one Body. This can be understood, Wyclif says, in three ways: either it is *dimensionally* in several places, or *virtually though in its own nature* (p. 92, l. 13; p. 110, l. 3—6); or virtually as in figure. I belive we may identify the first 'way' with the Thomist system; the second seems to coincide with the celebrated Scotist distinction, 'formalis ex natura rei'; [1] the third, I need hardly say, is Wyclif's opinion. The whole of the eighth chapter is a refutation of the Thomist doctrine; the ninth is partly an attack on the system of Scotus, partly an argumentation in favour of his own, partly a return to the debate relative to absolute accidents. Whilst, however, I recapitulate the many absurdities which Wyclif ascribes to the doctrine that admits the dimensional presence of Christ in the Host, I must in mere justice observe that some of them do not exactly hit the mark; if they did, St. Thomas would be conclusively proved to be no better than an idiot. His system, however, supposes Christ, with His dimensions, to be spiritually present, like the soul of man in his body, "totum in toto, et totum in qualibet parte", and therefore without any *extension* other than that which the Host itself occupies. It is a complete misunderstanding to imagine that Aquinas' theory encloses the length of six feet within the narrow limits of the smallest possible particle of the consecrated elements. This quantity, these dimensions of Christ's Body, have become spiritualised, idealised so to speak, to the point of no longer occupying space at all. In a word, the *force that extends* is present in Christ's Eucharistic Body; but its effect — i. e. actual extension — is miraculously absent, counteracted by Divine omnipotence. Any student of St. Thomas knows that this is the right explanation of his theory. I may now point out the chief issues in this chapter.

1st Every quantity, says Wyclif, is indefinitely great; if quantity is multiplied, so is its measure, space. 2nd Quality, by a like reasoning,

[1] I am not sufficiently acquainted with the details of the Scotist system to know whether it applies this distinction to Christ's presence in the Host; but it is a convenient one, and I should think it very likely to be applied.

would be infinitely intensified. 3rd Negative qualities would be also infinite; v. g., the Sacrament would be infinitely dense and rare at the same time. 4th Men could be put, however distant from each other, into instantaneous communication. 5th The whole world, were it thus transsubstantiated, could be held in a man's hand; which is blasphemy. 6th The meanest of things would become God. (This wanders from the present question, being an attack on the accident-theory.) 7th Why should the Sacrament possess only *dimensional* quantity? Why not the other sorts: time, place, &c.? And if these are also miraculously preserved, it is no longer an entity, but a collection of incongruous entities. 8th If the absolute accidents, v. g. of a man and a woman, should beget a son, and that sinfully, yet they could not sin; they might be damned, and yet cannot suffer; nor can they beget. 9th A subdeacon, if he had power to transsubstantiate bread into the world, while a priest could transsubstantiate it only into Christ's Body, would be higher than the priest. 10th As the world essentially depends on the whole of its matter, a priest could not celebrate Mass without destroying the world; for he would destroy the substance of bread.[1] 11th A vacuum, abhorred by Nature, would be possible in the Host, where there is nothing present but quantity. 12th If contrary qualities can belong to the same thing in different places, a man, bilocated — existing at the same time in England and in India — might be living in England and dead in India.

Ch. IX. How then is Christ present in the Host? As the thing signified is present in the sign; the golden calf was a calf only figuratively, but this figurative entity was present in every part of the gold. So too of the brazen serpent; so too of the angels that represented the Trinity to Abraham; each of these types had its own separate and physical existence. The Sacrament is thus of a double nature, earthly and divine; not identically Christ's Body, though really so, our Lord's words being true. Thus there is but one Body, Christ's, as principally to be thought of. Its terrestrial nature is forgotten, absorbed by faith; yet we must not suppose that He is

[1] Annihilation, we may here observe, is still more repugnant to Realists than to other philosophers. For, material essence being in all things *absolutely* identical, the smallest amount of matter destroyed implies the destruction of *all matter*.

identified with the bread, 'impanated'; still less, become an accident (pp. 103—110). The same objection as before noticed recurs: is the world Christ's Body? Wyclif considers it prudent to believe Scripture and go no farther. Perhaps, after the Judgment, all things will be Christ — figuratively. As for bilocation, he denies its possibility; the same thing cannot be in two places at once. St. Ambrose could not have been at St. Martin's funeral and at Milan at the same time. Can the *soul* be at once in several places? It is doubtful; at any rate, matter cannot. True, great doctors have thought differently; but they have also contradicted one another. Wyclif's rule is to reject any proposition, not only when manifestly absurd, but when not proved by reason or revelation to be true. For that second reason, he would deny that the soul can exist in two places at once (pp. 110 to 115). But, it is objected, *is* implies identity between subject and predicate. Anything then would be identically Christ, since everything *is* Christ figuratively. Wyclif answers, admitting generic but denying numerical identity; the latter would be a = a, so that there can be no possible difference between the two. But Baptist *is* Elias, in so far as he represents him: no farther. The lowest degree of this identity is that given by natural signs, as smoke signifying fire; the next, by a supernatural institution, as the Paschal Lamb; the highest, by the miraculous coexistence of the thing signified; which is the Eucharist (pp. 115—118). I confess I do not see how, in Wyclif's theory, this coexistence is miraculous; but the unanimous language of the early Fathers whom he so much esteems, seems to have determined him to bring in a miracle.

Ch. X. A fresh debate commences here, on the essence or quiddity of the Sacrament; with, however, few points that have not been touched upon already. The exceptions are: 1st the statement that when an accident is the subject of other accidents, it necessarily becomes a substance (p. 121); which Wyclif might have developed into a much better and stronger argument; and, 2nd the answer to an objection taken from St. Thomas, concerning the Eucharistic fast. If the bread remains, how can a priest say two Masses in one day, since he must say the second fasting? The difficulty is so weak that it is surprising Aquinas should have made use of it; but Wyclif avails himself of the occasion to say boldly that the great point is to fast from sin (pp. 123—124).

Ch. XI. We here come to another attack upon 'absolute accidents'; here again consisting mainly of repetitions. The idea of an accident able to exist apart from its substance destroys the very nature of the term accident. Wyclif takes one meaning of the word, and will not allow that they can give another to it. In any case, he says, you have to posit *extension*, which cannot exist by itself; what is the use then of imagining besides a quantity that can do so? Quantity is but the 'being so great' of a substance (132—134). And if neither substantial form nor primal matter can exist alone, how can that which depends upon them do so? Abstract quality must exist in a subject, or be infinite, like the attributes of God (pp. 134—136). Names should be given to all things according to their qualities; if these accidents have all the qualities of bread, they should be called so. The arguments borrowed from the peculiar nature of quality, those against a vacuum, and those combating annihilation follow, rather more fully developed than before, but on the same plan (pp. 136—146). He closes by denouncing the pride of those who exalt themselves, under colour of magnifying God's omnipotence, and the fallacy of this assertion: The Pope admits transsubstantiation: therefore absolute accidents exist (pp. 146—150).

Ch. XII. This chapter examines the different theories concerning the accidents supposed to remain in the Host. Some take it to be quantity (pp. 151—159); some, a congeries of different accidents (p. 159 to the end of the chapter); and some, quality (ch. XIII). — Quantity must have a subject. It is separable from its subject, more or less. Now even inseparable accidents, such as the power of laughing in man (an instance taken from Aristotle) are not conceivable without a subject. The Sacrament is active, which quantity is not. Existing in the concrete, quantity can be neither increased nor diminished; a number, if increased, is another number by the very fact. Now we see that quantity is increased in the Sacrament. The Nominalists change both religion and the laws of Nature; they would make all things infinitely great, quantity extended within quantity *ad infinitum;* and the absurd hypothesis of 'compressed quantity' cannot save them. — It is still more absurd to call the Eucharist an aggregate of accidents; every reason that makes against one, makes against the whole aggregate. A collective entity is no entity at all; the Fathers

never mention this scandalous theory, which resembles the apotheosis of Pagan idolaters, who made a god out of nothing. The Sacrament has weight; that cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis of an aggregate of accidents. This theory makes out the Sacrament to be (even after consecration) only a sign of Christ's Body; which is the heresy of Berengarius.

Ch. XIII. Quality, as an absolute accident, is here discussed. Of all the theories, it is the least improbable; a sacrament is a *form* of grace, and in so far a quality; some Saints besides have favoured this opinion, which is however inadmissible. The arguments already brought to bear against quantity are conclusive here too. Quality within quality would be multiplied *ad infinitum.* We cannot say that the Sacrament *is* whiteness, heaviness, &c. but that it *has* them; and for that reason Aquinas made quantity the basis that *has* (pp. 165—168). If however the substance of bread failed, when passing into the substance of Christ's Body, *nothing* would pass. Baptism does not annihilate the convert to whom it gives a new being. How this change is conceivable it is hard to say; whether natural, as in the eduction of forms, or supernatural, as in the present case. Whatever Pope Innocent may have decided, we are not under the Old Law now, and it is not practicable for the whole world to await the Pope's decisions. He ought not to be consulted, unless he is learned in Holy Writ. It is no matter what modern doctors think; Augustine denied the possibility of absolute accidents; and these doctors have often been in error: as v. g. in the question of temporal power (pp. 168 to 177). If any accident could be absolute, it would be either empty space or time: yet neither could exist without a world existing extendedly and subject to change.

Ch. XIV. Three Nominalistic theories respecting the essence of the visible Sacrament. The *first* says that the Host, having (like the Universals) no existence as such, except in the mind, is not Christ's Body as an actuality but in signification (in actu signato, non exercito). But then the Sacrament would be only a figure of Christ; nothing proves this theory; and any one could in that sense call himself God (pp. 186—187). The *second* asserts that the substance of bread *is* — i. e. has become — Christ's Body. But it were idolatry to worship bread; and bread cannot be said to become anything, when it totally

ceases to exist (pp. 187—188). The *third* maintains that the Host is not, but *has* Christ's Body. But this goes against Christ's own words at the Last Supper (pp. 188—190). The chapter closes with complaints against the glossators, and a Wycliffian gloss of contrary opinions, making them coïncide with his own (pp. 190—193).

Chs. XV. and XVI. These chapters, which we must analyse together, seem to be an answer to tracts written by four opponents, and especially to one who had made up a 'genealogy' of testimonies against him, from his time up to Christ. They are perhaps the most important in the whole book; not so much, however, the answers to the authorities quoted, as what follows, towards the end of Ch. XVI. The answers come first, and take up the whole of Ch. XV (pp. 193—206) and a part of Ch. XVI (pp. 206—217). — (1) The *Doctors of the Sects* are set aside: they contradict each other. (2) *Grosseteste* contradicts himself. (3, 4) *Lombard* and *Comestor* are contradicted by the Sects. (5, 6) *Lanfranc* and *Guitmundus* wrote against Berengarius, whose error Wyclif detests. (7, 8) *Gandofilus* and *Paschasius* are mere make-weights. (9) *Arnulfus* does not go into the question. (10) *Bernard* is mistaken. (11) *Anselm* can be explained. (12) *Innocent's* words are not a decree *de fide;* even were they so, we ought not to follow them. A long debate about the Pope's authority follows, from Wyclif's usual standpoint. (13) (Beginning of Ch. XVI, and of the second series of witnesses — writers of the *first* millenary) *Raban Maur* is inconsistent. (14) So is *Bede,* unless explained. (15) *St. John Damascenus* is of Wyclif's mind: his expressions point either that way or to impanation or consubstantiation, and these two last systems are not admissible. Here our author gives by the way (p. 210) his definition of transsubstantiation: a change *from* the exclusion of any entity but bread *to* Christ's sacramental coexistence. (16, 17) *Urso* and *Isidorus* may be quoted against the accident theory. (18) *Ambrose* seems against Wyclif in only two passages, which, if against him, would be in favour of Berengarius. (19) *Jerome* teaches that Christ's word "Hoc" means bread. Here Wyclif remarks (p. 213) "I have often confessed that Christ's very Body, numerically the same that was born of the Virgin . . . . that same body and substance is truly and really the sacramental bread, which the faithful perceive in the hands of the Priest. Yet I venture not to say that Christ's Body is identically,

substantially, corporally, or identically that bread". . . . . If the reader has followed the explanation here given, I think he will see that in these words there is no contradiction; they are merely the outcome of Wyclif's philosophical position. At the bottom of the same page he even admits in a certain sense that Christ is *substantially* present, i. e., as a substance. (20) *Augustine* is either inconsistent or must be explained: besides, the work quoted may spurious. (21) *Gregory* can also be understood in Wyclif's sense. As for (22, 23) *Ignatius* and *Dionysius*, they never mention accidents at all. If to these we add *St. Paul*, we have a second dozen of testimonies; and to crown all, Christ's words (pp. 213—217). But even the agreement of all the Fathers would amount to no more than probability, being only testimonial evidence; and they disagree (pp. 217—222). But how can we say that Christ's body is present just as in the Crucifix, *in signo?* Wyclif replies: Christ's Body, though only present *in signo,* is present otherwise than *ut in signo* (p. 223). I confess that this last distinction has puzzled me much. It seems to admit another sort of existence of Christ's Body in the Host, besides the 'sign existence'. And then Wyclif would perhaps be no more than an ordinary orthodox believer, who chooses to call by the name 'substance of bread' its visible and tangible appearances. But this again would clash with his Realistic theory. On the other hand, I am not inclined to think that he would take refuge in a mere verbal evasion of the question, though the whole of the book seems to point to that conclusion. This distinction seems hopelessly inconsistent with his former utterances. He goes on to say: Bread is not united to Christ's Body in the unity of one Person, but as nearly as possible to that union (p. 224). If I at all understand his theory, it runs thus: Every sign receives a certain figurative entity of the thing it signifies; and in proportion as the sign proceeds from a higher authority, this entity becomes more perfectly present. Our fancy may consider a lamb as the image of Christ, and it then *is* Christ — to a certain extent. But the Paschal lamb was much more so; and the highest possible perfection was reached, when Christ said of the bread: This is my Body. Thus I understand it: but then, 1st, the difference would be only one of degree, not of kind: how then can Wyclif say: *est tamen ibi aliter quam ut in signo?* And 2nd, the authority of Christ would suffice,

without the miracle that Wyclif everywhere asserts. Perhaps some Wyclif student may be able to point out where my exposition falls short, if it does fall short; for after all, he may have been inconsistent. — The chapter closes (p. 224—233) with an appeal to the authority of several of the early Fathers, in support of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVII. This is not a debate, though it of course contains much debatable matter. It reads much like a supplement or appendix. Its principal feature is an account of the gradual additions to the Mass, and the writer's opinion of them; with much against Friars, Orders, perpetual vows, and the power of the Pope. These last being mostly repetitions of what was said before, I can dismiss them without further notice. Before examining the ceremonies of the Mass, Wyclif relates a legend about an old monk who doubted whether bread was Christ's Body, until convinced by a miracle (p. 246—247). He then returns to the main question, and states that the Mass at first consisted only of the Lord's Prayer and of the words of consecration, and was said in the evening. The hour was soon changed; one pope ordered the whole Psalter to be sung before Mass (this was probably the origin of the Canonical Hours); another compiled an *antiphonarium* and introduced the *Kyrie Eleison;* another brought in the *Gloria in Excelsis*; others were the authors of various tracts, hymns, and prefaces, and ordered the *Credo* and the *Agnus Dei* to be chanted. Wyclif by no means approves of these innovations, though his tone is very reserved. If it is a sin now to change the established form of Mass, what was it then to have changed the form that Christ established? All these rites may be aids to piety, but it would be better if we could do without them. The argument of Solomon's temple, if urged, would allow burnt-offerings in our churches. Ceremonies are too much thought of in these days, and the spirit is held of too small account (p. 247—250). Wyclif, concluding *De Apostasia,* throws down a challenge to the Nominalists, or 'sign-worshippers'. This doctrine will be given to the public; let them also produce theirs.

If we set aside the strange distinction on p. 223, perhaps given to avoid a serious difficulty, I think we may come to the conclusion that the Realist Wyclif and the Nominalist Berengarius held objectively the same views on the Eucharist, and only varied in their manner

C*

of expounding it. If the bread remained and there was only a figure of Christ in the Host, Berengarius had, consistently with his principles, to deny that this was in any sense a real presence;[1] it was only nominally Christ. Wyclif's theory, on the contrary, gave reality to the figure itself. Hence there is no tergiversation nor insincerity in his protestations that it is really and even substantially Christ; nothing can be more hearty than his condemnation of Berengarius; for, condemning him, he condemns the whole philosophical school of sign-worshippers.

I think I cannot do better than to quote in conclusion some remarks made to me by Mr. Matthew, in a recent communication on the subject.

"The truth is that Wyclif would like to avoid saying *how* Christ's Body is present. Christ's institution makes it clear that He is in the Sacrament otherwise than by that universal immanence by which He is in all things. If his opponents would would let him, he would be content to say Christ was present *sacramentally* (as he does say sometimes). 'In signo' but not 'ut in signo' means that although His presence is figurative, it is not simply a figure, but has a special efficacy. What that is precisely he cannot tell, and loses himself in trying to express it. He is sure that the current explanations are carnal and wrong, but does not know how to replace them. See Arnold's *Select Works of Wyclif,* III, 426."

. . . . "There is a very good summary of his view in Lechler (Germ. ed.), I, 626; but neither Lechler nor anyone else can get a satisfactory and clear exposition, for the simple reason that Wyclif did not know what it was, though he thought he knew what it was *not*."

. . . . "He would have liked . . . . Queen Elizabeth's quatrain:

'Christ was the Word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it;
And what that Word doth make it,
That I believe and take it'."

[1] The writer of the article Berengarius in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says that he did not deny the real presence of Christ. But it is clear, from his whole doctrine, that he must have meant something quite different from what is meant here: v. g. a reality of grace, present in the soul, &c.

CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

A 37a
B 49a

Restat ulterius ponere aliud principium pro ambitu heresis symoniace pertractando. Quamvis enim symonia, blasphemia et apostasia convertantur ad subsistendi consequenciam, cum nemo potest peccare in unam personam divinam nisi peccet in quamlibet, tamen racio huius peccati triplicis, vel pocius eius informitas, est diversa. Peccatur enim in patrem (et per consequens in totam trinitatem) quando liga qua coleretur omnipotens pater dissolvitur: et ideo Jac. I, dicitur: "*Religio munda et immaculata aput deum et patrem, hec est*". Nec est possibile quemquam incidere in mortale, nisi sit de tanto apostaticus et per consequens blasphemus et symoniacus. Ideo dicit decretum, 79^a distinccione, capitulo X: *Si quis*, quod papa qui solum debet deponi pro heresi (ut innuitur 40^a distinccione, capitulo *Si papa*) postquam ruperit ligam qua religiose debet servire Christo in suo officio, quod non apostolicus sed apostaticus habeatur.

Et concordat nomen *apostasie*, que *apostotare* procurat; quod fit, quandocunque persona a lege domini recedit. Et dicitur secundum grammaticos ab *apos*, quod est *retro*, et *stolos, missio;* inde apostota, perversus refuga retro missus. Unde Augustinus vocat antichristum refugam. Et sic loquitur scriptura Prov. VI: "Homo apostota, vir inutilis, graditur ore perverso, annuit oculis, terit | pede, digito loquitur; pravo | corde machinatur malum et omni tempore iurgia seminat." Et sic loquuntur scripture de apostotare, ut patet Job XXXIV et Ecclus. X et XIX.

Jac. I, 27
Prov. VI, 12—14
A 37b
B 49b
Job. XXXIV, 18
Ecclus. X, 14
XIX, 2

Another principle to be established.

Simony, blasphemy and apostasy are inseparable as to existence, but the signification of the term is different.

Any act that loosens the bond of worship between man and the Father is a sin against the Father.

The pope, when he has broken by heresy the bond of Divine service is no longer Apostolic but Apostate according to the Decretal

The very name is a proof of this.

Attempt at an etymological demonstration of the meaning.

Augustine calls Antichrist a *deserter*.

Quotation depicting the apostate.

2. perscrutando BE. 6. huius modi CD. 14. capitulo *deest* F. 22. per se perversus CD. 26. malum in D. 27. et omni virga E. 28. Eccles. ABCDE.

13. Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars. Dist. LXXIX. c. 1. 15. Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars. Dist. XL. c. 6.

To know what apostasy is, we must know what its contrary i. e. religion, is.

Ad cognoscendum autem apostasiam, oportet precognoscere religionem, cum contrarium privativum oportet cognoscere per suum contrarium positivum. B.

Different meanings of the word 'Religion'. 1st Observation of the law of Christ. Examples of the word used in this sense: Cornelius and the eunuch of Queen Candace. Remark that neither of these owed his religion to Peter.

Dupliciter autem appellatur religio; primo modo observancia legis Christi; et illa describitur, Jacob. I° eius capitulo, ut alias diffuse exposui. Sic eciam vocatur miles Cornelius vir religiosus (Actuum X°) eciam antequam loquebatur cum Petro. Et sic indubie Ethiops eunuchus Candacis regine (de quo actuum VIII°) antequam conversus fuerat a Philippo: quia interna dei inspiracio religiositatem illam inducit, licet non autorisata fuerit, approbata vel cognita ab inferiori preposito. Quod docet fides scripture de istis duobus religiosis militibus, quorum primus factus est religiosus a Christo antequam loquebatur Petro et secundus post religiositatem quam Christus instruxit, instructus est a Philippo, non Petro; ut vel sic discamus religionem et alia opera meritoria ecclesie per se sufficienter dependere a Christo, non Petro; et multo evidencius non a posteriori Romano pontifice. De multis namque est evidens vel dubium quod non sunt membra sancte matris ecclesie. | Et sic eorum auctorisacio non per se pertinet ad religionem quam Christus instituit, sed per se nuda approbacio Christi et instinctus quem ipse inspirat. | Et sic legitur Act. I°, quod erant habitantes in Jerusalem Judei genere viri religiosi per dispersionem captivitatis ex omni genere nacionis. Et utinam non forent hodie plus sophisticati religiosi quam illi fuerant.

(Act. VIII, 27; A 37^{c}; B 49^{c}; Act. II, 5)

So religion is independent of Peter, much more so of any later Roman Pontiff.

To be religious it is enough to follow Christ's guiding; as the religious men, on the day of Pentecost.

Second meaning of the word religion: peculiar rites by which some men are distinguished from the rest.

Secundo modo vocantur religiosi qui per adinventas sectas et tradiciones cum aliis ritibus sensibilibus a residuo populi distinguntur. Et isto modo narrat magister hystoriarum super evangelia, quod tempore Christi tres secte fuerant in Judea, scilicet: Pharisei, saducei et Essei; et narrat distincciones ac observancias quas servabant. Isti autem vocantur sic famose religiosi, licet in scriptura infundabiliter; quod nomen tocius religionis quam Christus in fide scripture instituit, est extinctum.

No Scripture warrant for this use of the word.

4. Tripliciter BE. 5. vere observancia BEF; *ib.* et illam describitur E; illam describit B. 9 candatis regimine A. 10. dei *deest* F. 11. religionem BE; religionem illum C; religioni illum D; *ib.* auctorisata E. 19. non a Petro D. 22. per se *deest* EF. 24. inspiravit E. 26. dispersicionem A; disposicionem E; *ib.* capacitatis E. 28. sophistici F. 31. ritu *pro* residuo E. 32. in hystoria scolastica super E.

32. See note to Engl. Works of Wyclif, Matthew, pag. 489.

C. Sed notandum est diligenter ulterius, quod religio illa intelligi potest dupliciter: vel simpliciter, ut dicit agregatum ex humanis ritibus et essenciali religione quam Christus instituit; vel personaliter, ut dicit per se religionem Christi et religionem privatam, de quanto religioni illi consonat accedentaliter adiacentem. Et isto modo videtur michi scripturam loqui Act. XXVI, ubi Paulus sic loquitur: *„Secundum certissimam sectam nostre religionis vixi Phariseus"*. Et propter aliquas observancias eorum laudabiles, contendunt quidam inaniter, quod Christus | fuerat Phariseus. Non dubium Paulus non sic fuit desponsatus cum illo ordine phariseico; sicut nec Nicodemus, de quo Joh. III°; vel alii sancti religionis istius | , quod eo ipso quo ritus istos adiectos dimitterent, forent apostate. Et in illis religionibus privatis sunt et fuerunt multi sancti clerici et subtiles. Primum autem membrum istius divisionis voco religionem privatam simpliciter, et secundum membrum voco religionem privatam per accidens.

Act. XXVI, 5

A 37[d]

B 49[d]

Dividitur autem religio privata aliter in possessionatos et exproprietarios; possessionati vero dicuntur religiosi, quibus sunt redditus elemosinarii perpetuo humanitus assignati; ut monachi atque canonici. Exproprietarii vero sunt religiosi viventes dumtaxat de elemosina temporali: ut fratres. Et intelligendo divisionem predictam de religiosis privatis per accidens, patet quod religio possessionata fuit exproprietaria et econtra. Sic enim dicit beatus Bernhardus in libello intitulato *apollogeticum*, quod idem est ordo et eadem religio monachorum que fuit pauperum Jerusalem, tempore apostolorum. Et illi fuerunt pauperes indubie exproprietarie, habentes omnia in communi.

Est autem difficultas et dissensio, ut sepe tetigi, unde individuantur et distingantur ordines fratrum ab ordinibus possessionatorum.

Et videtur decretalem (in 5[to] decreto, titulo *de apostatis*) innuere, quod habitus corporalis | individuat et distinguit ordines illos ab invicem. Nam ibi sic scribitur in capitulo I°: "Clerici qui relicto ordine et habitu suo,

A 38[a]

The latter sense of the word can be taken in two ways. Either *simply*, as an aggregate of human rites, with Christ's religion or *personally*, in so far as a man's personal religion happens to correspond with the former. Wyclif divides private religion into simply private and accidentally private.

Another division: men with and men without possessions. Who are those with possessions. Who are those without possessions. That Religion, which now holds property was formerly dispossessed; and vice versa. St. Bernard compares monks with the members of the Church at Jerusalem, who were certainly without possessions.

A difficulty as to what makes one order differ from another.

For the Decretal seems to say that it is the monastic garb Decree quoted.

2. tripliciter BEF. 6. accidenter C. 10. quidam eorum E. 12. fuerat sic E. 15. regionibus B. 24. dicuntur E. 27. Sicut E. 30. paperum A. 31. exproprietarii CE. 38. describur D. 39. in *deest* E.

30. S. Bernard. Apologia ad Guillelmum. c. X. (t. 182, pag. 912, ed. Migne). 36. Decr. Gregor. IX, lib. V, tit. IX, c. 1.

in apostasia tanquam laici conversantur, si in criminibus comprehensi tenentur per censuram ecclesiasticam, non precipimus liberari." Et ex isto videtur innui, quod | (B 50a D.) religiosus relinquens habitum corporeum, fit eo ipso apostata: quod non haberet colorem, nisi habitus talis foret essencialiter ad ordinem requisitus.

Proofs that the habit is essential: I. Putting off the monastic garb makes an apostate.

II. That which makes a specific distinction is essential; but the orders of friars are specifically distinct. In any order, only the garb and the rule distinguishes it; but they all profess the same rule.

Item, inter 4^or ordines mendicancium est distinccio specifica; quia aliter liceret sine dispensacione ab uno transire ad alium. Sed non sic distingwerentur, si non per habitus corporales: igitur conclusio. Nam, quantum ad regulam, tres istorum ordinum preter fratres minores profitentur regulam Augustini; sicud et 4^or alii famosi ordines possessionati. Opportet igitur dare aliquam differenciam sensibilem secundum quam a populo distingwantur.

III. If the garb was not essential, any one might set it aside at will; and all the different orders would be in confusion: which is against the Decretal. It says 'that a monk, if he have received Holy orders when in a state of apostasy, cannot exercise sacred functions without a special dispensation from Rome'.

Item, si quilibet talis habitus foret accidentalis ordini vel religioni, tunc liceret homini sine auctoritate superioris, habitu tali dimisso, alienum induere; et foret confusio ordinum, cum cuilibet religioso liceret habitum quemcunque — eciam laycalem — quocienscunque et quamdiu libuerit induere atque exuere: quod videtur esse contra decretalem pape (in quinto decretalium De Apostatis, capitulo *A nobis*) ubi docetur quod abicientes habitum licet stricto carceri mancipare. Et capitulo finali | (A 38b) dicitur quod monachus in apostasia recipiens aliquem sacrum ordinem, eciam reconciliatus per penitenciam suo abbati, absque dispensacione Romani pontificis ministrare non potest in ordine sic suscepto. Et prima consequencia videtur ex hoc quod, posita tanta accidentalitate, staret servata religione vel ordine in multis casibus habitum talem licenter exuere, quia ex quo stant cum ordine licet | (B 50b) priori precipere virtute obediencie, quamdiu voluerit habitum talem dimittere; et sic de aliis casibus infinitis. Si enim inpossibile potest cadere obedienciario sub precepto, multo magis accidentale possibile, religioni indifferens, ymmo quod potest esse meritorium et racionabiliter faciendum.

Arguments to the contrary. The condition of the mind does not depend upon clothing.

(E.) In oppositum videtur quod omnis vera religio consistit in animo, et per consequens est cuicunque habitui corporali inpertinens. Quis, inquam, dubitat, quin habitus mentis non dependet ab habitu corporali?

9. exire F. 13. ergo EF; *ib.* ergo dare aliam regulam B. 20. eruere A. 21. in *deest* E. 22. septimo nobis D. 24. vltimo E. 31. hoc statu *pro* quo stant E. 38. anima F.

21. Decr. Gregor. lib. V, tit. IX, c. 5.

Item, ut logici arguunt, aliter consumpta et inveterata foret proporcionaliter talis religio, ut contingit pannorum consumpcio; et, abiectis pannis, gracia mutacionis vel balnei, sic mutans in apostasiam incideret! Ymo cum religio servatur in pannis, moveretur cum illis; et laicus ydiota vel asinus, habitum talem indutus, fieret ut sic illius religionis vel ordinis.

If so, religion would be used up and worn out as the rags themselves wore out. An ass, dressed in the garb, would belong to the Order.

Nec valet fingere quod oportet exuentem habitum essencialem propter causam necessariam partibiliter A 38c induere alium habitum | pro eodem tempore quo prior habitus partibiliter est exutus; quia ordo sic veterasceret et susciperet magis et minus ut induicio vel mutacio talis habitus, cum aliis multis adducendis, que sunt similia deliramentis puerilibus.

Item iuxta istam sentenciam papa non posset dispensare cum ordine, variando habitum et ritus alios corporales: consequens impossibile. Et consequencia sic probatur: Nichil quod est differencia essencialis vel passio potest vel per deum separari a subiecto rema- B 50c nente, igitur evidencius papa | hoc non potest; quia aliter posset in contradictoria, ultra deum. Ideo dicit Bernhardus glozator cum textu super 3° decretalium de statu monachorum (capitulo, *Cum ad monasterium*) quod monachum potest papa facere proprietarium, sed non potest facere quod simul sit monachus et proprietarius.

Ex quo patet quod aliquis ritus est essencialis ordini, preter habitum corporalem, cum quo papa dispensare non potest stante ordine. Sic enim limitatus est habitus a papa nigris canonicis, sic et variantur albi monachi a nigris in habitu, stante ordine, sic eciam mutatus est habitus Carmelitarum stante eodem ordine, ut patet notanti cronicas istius materie. Et evidencius potest ostendi per hoc quod papa dispensat cum multis ordinibus de esu carnium, eciam in refectorio; cum igitur hoc sit propinquius religiositati, quam habitus corporalis; multo evidencius potest dispensare cum illis quo ad talem habitum.

Further, the Pope would have no power to change the garb of an Order; but this is impossible, because he cannot be said to have more power than God. But God Himself is unable to take away an essential difference, the subject remaining the same: For He cannot do what involves contradiction. The Pope makes many changes of garb. He even grants dispenses concerning the use of fleshmeat.

F. In ista materia non delectat fidelis contendere quia est tradicio humana preter fidem scripture. Videtur

Conclusion: The garb is not an essential.

5. moveretur *struck out* A; servaretur B; moneretur D. 9, 10. essencialem — habitum *deest* C. 12. induccio ACD. 16. alios ritus E. 17. Conclusio E. 18. essencialis *desst* E. 23. capitulo — monasterium *deest* E; *ib.* ad modum E. 29. alibi ABD. 30, 31. sic — ordine *deest* AD.

22. Decr. Gregor. lib. III, tit. XXXV, c. 6.

Neither ceremonies nor garb are essential to any good religion. A good 'religious' ought to be indifferent to all that, so far as no scandal is given to his brethren.

tamen michi probabile, quod nec ritus, nec habitus corporalis sit essencialis cuicunque bone religioni vel ordini, sed cuicunque bono religioso debet esse indifferens ritus vel habitus corporalis. Sic tamen, quod non det scandalum fratribus; quia cum quocunque tali habitu posset fidelis eque bene facere opus religionis quam Christus instituit. Ut si duo iuga ordinum fratrum commutarent simpliciter habitus corporales et de compossibili meliorarentur in operibus religionis foret me- | B 50d lius ecclesie et placencius deo, quam est modo.

Solution of difficulties. I. Bodily garb is a sensible *sign* by which religious orders happen to be *known* to differ: but it is not the *cause* that *makes* them to differ. An order combines Christ's religion with a tendency towards certain practices; which last vary according to circumstances.

Ad primum trium argumentorum que fiunt in oppositum, dicitur quod habitus corporalis est signum sensibile sed per accidens quo cognoscuntur illi ordines distingwi ab invicem, non causa distinccionis. Sed intelligendo ordinem privatum simpliciter potest dici, quod est unum agregatum ex religione Christi et privatis professionibus vel habitus mentis ad tales ritus corporales vel habitus observandum; et sic habitus tales in anima videntur obiective terminari ad genus ritus et habitus corporalis succedens pro suo tempore. Et sic necessitantur loquentes in ista materia ponere cum extensione temporis res communes, ut frater non tenetur de essencia ordinis | A 39a habere hunc vel illum habitum corporalem sed tenetur pro loco et tempore habere talem, saltem adiacente possibilitate parium cum hoc vovit; et irracionabiliter solvens hoc votum, induendo habitum alterius generis secundum leges signa querencium tamquam apostota est punitus.

II. The four orders of friars are distinguished by their obligations and disposition to certain practices, but not by the practices themselves; the former would distinguish them even if the latter perished.

Ad secundum argumentum conceditur, quod isti 4^or^ G. ordines distinguntur specifice penes obligaciones et habitus mentales ad talia genera particularis observancie; sed non penes particulares habitus corporeos, nec penes illa genera distinguntur; quia stante obligacione et habitu mentali et eciam pereunte toto genere ritus vel habitus corporalis, non minus distinguerentur illi ordines, licet signa sensibilia quibus recognosceretur ordinum illorum distinccio desint simpliciter. Et patet quod minor | B 51a argumenti est falsa, cum ordines tales distinguntur penes obligaciones et habitus mentales; cognoscuntur autem a populo distingui penes habitus corporales. Unde sicut illa noticia est accidentalis or-

19. ostenduntur C. 24, 25. sed — talem *deest* C. 26. ei racionabiliter CE. 34. eciam *deest* F.

dini, ita sepe in illis signis populus est seductus. Et patet quod regula non per se distingwit, cum regulam Christianam fratres et possessionati omnis sexus fidelium sacerdotes et layci profitentur. Augustinus autem dedit regulam scripture pro perfectis clericis in communi viventibus, nec curavit de specie forme, coloris vel precii habitus corporalis; ideo propter adiecciones talium A 39b rituum | sunt multi ordines adinventi et infiniti alii possunt addi; ut omnes cathedrales ecclesie et omnes conventuales clerici debent ut ego estimo servare regulam Augustini. Unde adiecta variacio et subtilizacio est a malo.

As to the rule, it cannot distinguish them by itself, no more than the observance of Christ's law can distinguish clergy from laity. Augustine laid down a general rule to which the cathedral and conventual clergy ought to have been kept.

Ad tercium argumentum videtur michi, quod conclusio est concedenda; nam licet fratri minori in tempore necessitatis habitum veterem proicere et novum induere licencia Romani pontificis non petita, sed indui habitum alienum abiecciorem; et limites illius generis nescit Romanus pontifex diffinire, sicut nec scit specificare strictitudines istorum ordinum quas patriarche qui ipsos fundaverant statuerunt.

III. We grant the conclusion, viz., that any one may set the garb of his order aside, when necessary; and that without asking the Pope's leave.

H. Ideo sepe dicit se dispensare cum ordine et apostatando alienum peiorem instituit, ut minus degenerarent fratres predicatores, si cum esu carnium quilibet eorum fuerit uxoratus, quam cum predicto esu quilibet eorum fuerit civilis proprietarius. Minus eciam degenerarent, B 51b si quilibet eorum fo | ret factus vicarius, rector sive episcopus quam quod manendo penaliter claustrales contra Christi pauperiem conspirarent. Et tercio minus degenerarent quicunque religiosi induendo habitum alieni coloris vel forme, quam induendo habitum preciosum eiusdem coloris et forme, habitu mentali Christiani ordinis plus mutato. Ideo ad regulandum hos ordines, necesse est regulam scripture et religionem A 39c suam attendere, quia | papa sepe in talibus decipit atque decipitur. Nam, ut dictum est, papa non habet potestatem, nisi ad edificandum ecclesiam sive statum, et sepe per suggestiones falsas et dispensaciones symoniacas facit contrarium; unde credo quod papa plus prodesset ordinibus precipiendo eis virtute obediencie annuatim alternare in ritu et habitu corporali, vel melius nulli

Dispenses are delicate things. And it would be better to enter the secular clergy than to conspire against poverty in the cloister. And better to change the colour or form of their dress than, keeping to them, wear costly stuffs.

2. illa regula E. 5, profectis E. 6. colorat E. 8. modernorum rituum CDEF. 19. parochiane E. 20. ipso C. 22. alios peiores; alium peiorem *in margine* B. 23. sed E. 34. quod C; *ib.* decipit E. 38. plus *deest* ABCD.

It would be better if the Pope were to change all rites than to punish any one on account of mere signs. Religious men are called apostates, only for having changed their garb.

tali ritui obligari, quam sic punire religiosos propter tradiciones signorum. Necesse est tamen generacionem adulteram signa querentem, precedente peccato, in signis sacramentalibus signa false attendere plus signatis; ut hodie vocantur apostate, nedum qui habitum alienum induunt, sed qui religiose in comitivis honestioribus conversantur. Unde, sicut fingitur ordo et apostasia, sic fingitur sepe irracionabiliter pena gravior pro actu religioso vel apostatico stante fama, quia satrape plus petunt apparenciam mundanam quam existenciam vere religionis qua deus placaretur.

Why the Pope claims authority over all Orders: 1st to get more money; 2nd to be praised everywhere by them; 3rd to be more evidently great by ruling over them. This apostasy of pride makes the Pope grant dispenses rashly. Blindness with which he grants dispenses, and lays claim to authority.

Et correspondenter irreligiose puniunt. Papa eciam dicitur vendicare de privatis ordinibus regimen capitale atque dominium | propter tria: primo ut pecunia sedi B 51c sue copiosius cumuletur; secundo, ut nomen sue sanctitatis sophistice per illos dispersos in populo publicetur; et tercio, ut sua pomposa excellencia per regulacionem ordinum quibus insidet patencius promulgetur. Et hec apostasia superbie facit papam in accidentibus suis, scilicet colore et figura, cum religiosis temere dispensare; dispensat enim faciendo religiones in toto novas, et sepe nescius illudit plebi atque ordinibus post quantitatem in eukaristia in isto duplici genere qualitatis. Et sicut cece confert omnia beneficia regnorum, sic dispensat et auctoritatem vendicat in religiosis qui lanam induunt, propter causam triplicem assignatam.

Let him note what Hugo has written on dispenses; saying that there can be no dispense without compensation; the word coming from *dispendium*, and in itself meaning loss.

Notaret, inquam, dictum Hugonis De Sacramentis parte 12^{a} capitulo 5to. "Dispensacio esse non potest ubi recompensacio esse non potest: dispensacio quippe nomen *dispendii* est et detrimentum sonat quantum in ipso est; stultum vero est voluntarie dampnum sustinere ubi nullum lucrum sequitur. Ubi autem in parvo detrimentum tolleratur voluntarie, ut in maiore lucrum proveniat; hec bona est dispensacio". Et post declarat, quod non cadit dispensacio super lucro anime merendo beatitudinem; sed quid papa scit si commutaciones quas facit ordinibus, faciunt ad detrimentum anime? Videndum est igitur de apostasia qua a deo receditur, et illa

5. homines EF. 6. qui *deest in* EF; *ib.* commitis F. 9. quam *pro* vel F. 10. appetunt E. 12. plus puniunt EF. 16. potestatis EF. 17. per racionem E. 19. suis *deest in* CDE. 20. scilicet *deest in* E; *ib.* signa *pro* figura E. 23. quantitatis E. 33. voluntarie tolleratur E. 34. plus *pro* post D.

27. Hugo a Sancto Victore, *De Sacramentis,* lib. II, parte 12, c. 5 (*p.* 522, *t.* 176, *ed. Migne*).

sola est laudabiliter punienda. Unde glossa Bernhardi super primo capitulo de apostatis in quinto decretalium B 51[d] narrat de apostasia triplici: scilicet perfidie inobediencie et irregularitatis adinvente. Sed indubie omnis ponderanda apostasia est perfidie, inobediencie et irregularitatis contra religionem quam Christus instituit. I. Nec scit papa si commutacio quam facit sit dispensacio vel dispendiosa commutacio ad anime detrimentum, cum prudens animus illud optime in se ipso discerneret et a Christo inconsulto papa dispensacionem acciperet.

And the pope cannot say whether the changes he makes are a real dispense or a change costly to the soul.

Nec dubium quin pena incarceracionis et privacionis quam inponit vocatis apostatis sit sepe illicita et regaliis regum contraria; quia regum est et non pape inponere legiis regum penas huius modi corporales. Sicut igitur talis incarceracio religiosorum procedit ex temeritate cleri presumpta. sic ista tolleracio principum quo ad suos legios procedit ex culpabili eorum negligencia, ut ostendi in tractatu *de rege*.

The punishment of incarceration, commanded by the Pope, illegal, as encroaching upon kingly rights, proceeds from temerity of the clergy, and culpable negligence of the king.

Ideo quererent domini regnorum qua auctoritate sic faciunt religiosi sui; si auctoritate dei, ostendant locum legis sue, ex quo licet eis sic facere; si auctoritate principum, debent ostendere quod licet eis auctoritatem cui talem conformiter scripture exequi, cum Christus precipit, Matth. XVIII°, apostatam talem sic ut ethnicum et publicanum relinquere. Et apostolus precipit ad Titum III° hereticum huius modi devitare. | Quid igitur comodum insurgit regibus, quod consenciunt suos legios tam irregulariter cruciari? Augustinus autem precipit tales a societate sanctorum proici, indubie sine concussione | ut fecerunt apostoli; sed glozatores perfidi, ut alia dicta sancti, sic sinistre intelligunt: *proiciatur*, id est, *in artum et tetrum carcerem detrudatur*. Ad quid, rogo, diceret sanctus, 'eciam si ipse non abscesserit de nostra societate proiciatur', nisi quia talis apostata gratis cum gaudio societatis potest recedere et non per incarceracionem inprovidam consorcium amplius contaminare.

[Margin: Matth. XVIII, 17; Tit. III, 10; A 40[b]; B 52[a]]

An apostate, by Christ's teaching, is to be as a heathen and a publican. St. Paul prescribes to Titus the avoidance of such a man. Augustin rules that such must be 'cast out of the society of the Saints' surely without violence. This word cannot signify imprisonment, by the context.

Sed dubitatur, primo, si talis religio privata sit perfeccior quam communis religio Christiana: et patet quod

Return to main argument: First question: Whether 'religious (i. e. monastic) life is more perfect than ordinary Christianity.' Negatived.

8. dispensa EF. 13. regum *deest* E; *ib.* contraria: illicita quidem, quia infundabilis in Scriptura; et regaliis contraria, quia BF. 14. leges B. 16. tali E. 19. querent E. 22. cui *deest* F. 30. licet E. 32. penaliter detrudatur EF. 33. vestra BE.

2. Decr. Gregor. lib. V, tit. IX, c. 1. 28. Aug. *Regula ad servos Dei,* art. 7. *De fraterna correctione* (*p.* 1381 *of t.* 32, *ed. Migne*).

non, ex sepe et diffuse dictis alibi. Pro quo suppono quod religio privata intelligatur simpliciter pro agregato ex omnibus votis et obligacionibus, quibus religiosus astringitur, ut in tali ordine, et communis religio Christiana que in scriptura sacra est expressa, ad quam omnis fidelis de necessitate salutis astringitur.

1st The general Christian life, as more simple, necessary, and authorised, is more perfect — 1st more simple. Every 'private' religion must add to this. 2nd More necessary. For it alone is necessary to salvation. 3rd More authorised. Ordinary Christianity was promulgated by Christ, followed by Him, and handed down to the Apostles now nothing of this is true of the other 'religions'.

Et tunc probatur conclusio negativa; primo sic: Communis Christiana religio est simplicior, necessarior et autoritativior: igitur est perfeccior. Est, inquam, simplicior, quia oportet quamcunque religionem privatam isti superaddere; ideo solebam dicere, quod religio ipsa presupponitur ad alias, sicut forma substancialis ad formas accidentales, et talis est perfeccionum comparacio. Et quod sit | necessarior, patet; cum ista et non alia A 40c requiritur ad salutem. Nam per istam religionem sine alia crevit ecclesia, per istam rapuerunt apostoli et alii magis sancti regnum celorum et sine ista principante non valet alia, sed econtra; et quod sit autoritativior, patet notando fundatores religionum et expressiones earum in fide scripture. Nam ex fide capimus quod omnis veritas est ex scriptura, et ut necessarior est expressior; | B 52b aliter enim autor religionis summe potens, sciens atque benivolus foret inprovidus, nisi religionem cariorem magis exprimeret. Illa igitur quam ore sua expressit, in persona sua servavit et apostolis atque carioribus eius discipulis servandam tradidit, excedit aliam adiectam cui non convenit laus ista.

2nd 'Private' religion, as more difficult, more needy and more complex is less perfect. 1st More difficult. Christ's religion is 'an easy yoke': one reason why the new law is better than the old. 2nd More needy. A private religion requires Papal authorisation; Christ's religion is the authorisation of the Pope's life, if laudable.

Item, religio ista privata est magis difficilis, magis indigua et diffusa; igitur est minus perfecta. Consequencia patet ex testimonio Christi, Matth. XIto, comendantis religionem suam ex hoc quod iugum suum suave est Matth. XI, 28 et onus suum leve. Ex hoc enim lex nova excedit in perfeccione legem veterem; et patet de racione, cum religio ista brevius et compendiosius attingit finem legis. Plenitudo autem legis est dileccio, quam plene et breviter docet communis religio Christiana. Et quod religio privata plus indiget, patet ex hoc quod ad confirmacionem eius requiritur auctorisacio papalis; ad legem autem Christi non sic; sed | oportet quod ipsa vitam papalem, A 40d si sit laudabilis, autoriset. Unde narrat Cestrensis, libro 7, capitulo 24, quomodo sub Innocencio IIIo ordines

5. que *deest* F. 7. necessaria E. 11. istam F. 20. in fine CD. 26. suo F. 26, 27. cui laus ista non convenit BEF. 28. ideo E. 30. tenet *pro* patet B; *ib.* Vto ACD. 41. 24 *deest* CD; *ib.* capitulo *deest* EF; *ib.* 24 *deest* F.

predicatorum et minorum inceperant, et ad confirmandum eos ipse se reddebat difficilem; sed confirmacio eorum per Honorium IIIm immediate sequentem fiebat, ut notatur in eadem cronica; et taliter sunt alii ordines non prophani per Romanos episcopos confirmati. Et diffusio privati ordinis ex hoc patet, quod vix sufficit homo per vitam suam cerimonias et ritus eius plene cognoscere, et continue egent interpretacione et correccione multiplici: quibus caret religio Christiana.

What difficulties the Dominicans and Franciscans were under before they could be authorised. 3rd More complex. A whole lifetime is hardly sufficient to learn all the observances.

B 52c Item periciores privati ordinis | sumptuose laborant et eligunt illo exui et militare sub religione simplici Christiana, quod non fieret nisi illa foret perfeccior: igitur conclusio. Argumentum patet de proveccioribus et sapiencioribus privati ordinis qui laborant ut statum episcopalem accipiant et per capellaniam papalem vel alia media obedienciam in qua consisteret maior ordinis sui perfeccio se exuant.

Again. The best men of each Order strive to become Bishops, i. e. to leave it and join the simple religion of Christ, which is therefore better.

Nec valet dicere quod in hoc errant, cum papa approbat et religio non inpugnat. Nam frater vel monachus nacto episcopio vivit perfeccius, quia aliter retrocederet in lege domini tanquam apostata: quod tam A 41a clerus quam laycus inopinabile reputaret. |

And they do so *rightly*; for what is approved by the Pope and not condemned by the Order cannot be beld as wrong. Otherwise a Friar becoming a Bishop, he would be an apostate.

Sicut igitur episcopi gerunt vicem apostolorum, sic sunt in statu perfectissimo quem deus dignatus est in ecclesia sua statuere et papa supra episcopos qui dicitur gerere vicem Christi. Et constat quod status episcopalis vel est statui religionis private inpertinens vel repugnans. Nam omnes tradiciones adiecte supra legem Christi non regulariter tenetur episcopus observare; quia aliter omnes apostoli et omnes seculares episcopi ante istos ordines et post forent vel irregulares episcopi, vel saltem minus regulares quam nostri religiosi: quod est incredibile; non solum quia ecclesia plus approbat et canonisat priores episcopos, verum quia in privatis ordinibus non traduntur speciales regule episcopio pertinentes, sed apostolus in Thymotheo tradit 15 regulas plenius et perfeccius regulantes statum episcopi.

The state of a Bishop is the most perfect of all. But if these observances were really a source of perfection, Bishops, not being obliged to observe them, would be inferior to Religious.

Tria igitur sunt, que catholicus ut fidem debet credere: primum quod status episcopalis, quem Christus in B 52d apostolis suis instituit, est perfeccior | quam status privati ordinis; quia plus ecclesie regulativus et anime

So Catholics must believe: 1st That a Bishop's state, instituted by Christ in His

8. dispensacione et EF. 12 foret EF; *ib.* esset EF. 13. assumptum EF. 15. per *deest* F. 17. exuant reputaret EF. 22. clero quam laico est E; *ib.* reputaret *deest* E; reputarem D. 25. sibi *pro* supra E. 38. debet ut fidem E.

apostles is the most perfect of all. To deny this would be blasphemy.

lucrativus. Nam nimis blasfemum foret, quod aliquis privatus ordo adinventus excederet primum ordinem quem Christus instituit, quia hoc foret implicare maiorem prudenciam in adinvencionibus humanis quam in deo, et per consequens extollere antichristum super omne quod dicitur deus.

2nd That though a Bishop may fall off from what he should be, his state remains the same.

Secundo credimus quod licet episcopus degenerat a statu primevo et confundit eius noticiam, tamen status ille manet in fide scripture invariabiliter perfectus succedente universali statu prelati in moribus. In cuius signum religiosus privati ordinis (factus episcopus), relinquit regulam privati ordinis, ut repugnans, et intendit regule apostoli, quam secundum quod perficit est laudabilis, patet ex dictis alibi de quiditate status.

3rd That neither the Superior could designate, nor the people could receive a Religious as their Bishop, unless they believed the latter state to be preferable. A man who becomes a Bishop for pleasure, pride or money, is a simoniac, and will infect the whole flock.

Tercio credimus quod nec superior constitueret O. nec populus acciperet religiosum privati ordinis in suum episcopum, nisi utrobique crederet et confiteretur statum quem accipit plus perfectum. Cum enim perfeccio status sit dispositiva ad beatitudinem anime aquirendam et status perfeccior sit plus dispositivus, insanis foret omniquaque quelibet pars et caritati contraria, si gratis permitteret religiosum apostotare a statu perfecciori ad statum episcopalem (minus) perfectum. Nam ecclesia debet cognoscere, quod religiosus possessionatus vel exproprietarius appetens illum statum propter voluptatem, fastum, vel questum seculi est symoniacus venenosus; et per consequens benedicendo confirmando vel ordinando quemquam in sua dyocesi venenose dampnificat se et plebem. Et idem est iudicium de | suffraganeis. B 53[a]

Conclusion: the faithful must confide in the Bishop of souls.

Ideo, ut sepe dixi superius, oportet fideles contemptis apostatis servare legem dei et confidere in episcopo animarum.

Answer to objections. 1st Objection. A Religious observes Christ's law and adds thereto. Answer: The assumption is false.

Sed replicatur contra istud per hoc, quod religiosus privati ordinis | obligatur et servat quicquid Christianus A 41[c] de lege communi servaverit, et super hoc addit perfeccionem adinventam; igitur superaddit in perfeccioni religionis; et, ut dixi alias, ad hoc sunt leges ecclesie. Sed dicitur (ut sepe alias) quod falsum assumitur. Nam P. ut dicit Sapien. IX° deus disposuit omnia in mensura, (Sap. XI, 21) numero et pondere. Quod expressit Augustinus *(De pro-*

13. laudando E; laudandus F. 15. populum religiosum CE. 18. disposicio B. 19. adquerendam E. 38. disponit. 39. Augustinus exponit E.

40. Aug. *De Trinitate* lib. XI, c. 11. Numerus, pondus, mensura (*p.* 908, *t.* 42, *ed. Migne*).

prietatibus trinitatis), sic quod mensura, sicut religio, correspondeat deo patri. Cum igitur deus dedit regulam completam religionis in lege scripture, videtur quod omnis religiosus privati ordinis deficit in observancia illius mensure, ad quam Christianus religiosus vocatus secularis debet attendere. In ista igitur perfeccione mensure excedunt omnes religiosos privati ordinis. Ideo videtur simile de istis et adiciente ad parietes domus perfectos de quadris lapidibus lutum et inordinatum acervum lapidum; quod licet adaugeat magnitudinem et numerum, sepe tamen monstruose facit fundamenta putrescere.

Secundo dubitatur utrum expedicius foret ecclesie non esse tales privatos ordines; et videtur quod sic, ex dictis evidenciis: cum sapiunt inperfeccionem qua caruit primitiva ecclesia quando crevit. Sed contra istud instatur: primo per hoc, quod nedum sancti fundarunt hos ordines, sed ex illis creverunt multi gloriosi viri ad magnam edificacionem ecclesie. Sed supposita veritate B 53[b] du | bii, ad istud dicitur, quod evidencia non procedit; nam multi sancti comiserunt multas blasfemias, ymo A 41[d] sanctissimi citra Christum | continue peccaverunt, cum I. Jo. 1, 8 paranymphus dicat (I[a] Joh. 1°): "Si dicimus quod peccata non habemus, nos ipsi seducimus et veritas in nobis non est". Ideo ut docet decretum (8 distinccione, capitulo: *Si solus Christus audiendus est),* solus Christus capi debet inter homines pro exemplo in vita et opere, secundum hominem quem assumpsit vel secundum membra sua, in quibus ut in sanctis operatus est, et quos ad suam sentenciam inspiravit.

Q. Ideo est pura fallacia, si sancti homines sic fecerunt et ordinaverunt totam suam sectam sic perpetuo facere in futurum, igitur bene. Non enim est evidens Christum taliter ordinasse, vel membra sua movisse ad instituendum religionem huiusmodi, cum Christus ordinavit se ipsum indui nunc veste purpurea et nunc alba, (ut patet, Math. 27 et Luce 23): ymo quando misit discipulos Luce X, 4 ad predicandum (Luc. X°) prohibuit eis ferre duas tunicas, habere peram vel baculum vel calciamenta in pedibus, et tamen illud intelligi voluit non perpetuo sed solum

God made all things in measure. He gave a complete rule of religion in Scripture law. And every religious departs therefrom. That these observances add, is true; but it is like adding a heap of rubbish round the walls of a perfect building.

Second question. Would it not be better, if there were no such orders in the Church? There were none in the first times.

Objection. These Orders, founded by Saints, have produced many holy men.

Answer. The objection proves nothing; for many Saints have done wrong; and all have sinned. Christ alone ought to be taken as example to go by.

What a fallacy to say: The men who regulated their sect thus and thus were saints: therefore they did right! And when Christ forbade his disciples to take two coats, &c. it is understood that he meant only for a time, not for ever.

8. ad parietem domos E. 8, 9. perfectas D; *ib.* illicitam E. 11. menstruose E. 13. ordines *deest* D. 15. credit E 17. religiosi E. 22 dixerimus E; diximus D. 24, 25. capitulo *deest* EF. 25. solus *deest* E. 28. instructis E 29. inspirat E. 39. cum C; *ib.* pro perpetuo F.

24. Decr. Grat. I Pars. Dist. VIII, c. 9.

And the Apostles' life proves this. Why must the commands of Benedict, v. g. be binding for ever, when those of Christ were not so? And had they been thus, it does not follow that these Fathers could imitate Him in that. St. Bartholomew made a hundred genuflexions in a day; and yet he never founded a sect that had to do likewise, under severe penalties. And it would be perilous to follow them, even though their sin were light and their merits great.

quando ab officio apostolico retardaret. Quod non solum testatur vita apostolorum, qui quando expediebat ritum istum dimiserant, sed et ordines fratrum laudabiliter illud hodie non observant. Quis igitur color si Benedictus Dominicus aut Franciscus sic statuit faciendum; igitur non licet alicui de secta sua ad contrarium declinare, cum de Christo non sequitur? Nec sequitur, si Christus sic statuit ad sensum expositum, igitur licet | A 42a patribus predictis prudenter statuere | B 53c ut tota sua secta omnes ritus observet continue quos in se religiose invenerant. Bartholomeus enim legitur religiose in die cencies flexisse genua: et tamen non audebat statuere post se sectam perpetuam, que sub pena apostasie et tribulacionis severissime hoc observet. Quis igitur color: "si patroni ordinum sic statuerant, igitur bene"?

Sed sicut Silvester peccavit in recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie, et tamen postmodum penitens fuit factus, sic R. stat de patronis predictis. Ymmo licet omnes predicti meruerunt in isto peccando venialiter, tamen periculosum et dampnabile est sequi vel approbare eos secundum racionem qua sic peccaverant. Non igitur est color concludere, quod illi prudenter vel inculpabiliter fecerunt, secundum racionem qua in sectis suis observanciam talem perpetuam rituum statuerunt.

It was an act of blindness to amplify the rule of Augustine, which mentions neither colours, perpetual vows, nor prison.

Et gravatur cecitas in signa colentibus, quod ultra hoc quod Augustinus patronus in communi statuerat illis qui gratis voluerunt servare regulam suam, quamdiu placuerit, gravantur alie particule et ramificantur in ecclesia ex sancta radice vitulamina viciata. Non enim lego in regula (beati) Augustini de professione perpetua, de colore vel figura vestium vel de incarceracione; sed de apostate abieccione.

Answer to Second part of the objection: 'Many saints in those Orders.' Granted; but it proves nothing.

Quoad secundum obiectum, patet quod nichil antecedenti et conclusioni concesse. Nam, ex radice infecta primi Adam, virtute secundi Adam | A 42b multa sancta et gloriosa plantaria succreverunt; sicud et occasione 'felicis culpe et necessarii peccati Adam', ut loquitur

5. Francus ABCD. 7. nec sequitur *deest* F. 10, 11. observaverant B. 11. in die religiose B. 18. vnde E. 21. peccaverunt B. 27. grate E. 28. iam inficitur E. 29. in *deest* E; *ib.* ex insecta *pro* ex sancta E. 34. vel B. 38. beatus E.

37. The words '*O certe necessarium Adae peccatum*' . . . etc. are in the Sarum Office for Holy Saturday (*Benedictio cerei paschalis*); but I have not been able to trace them to St. Gregory.

B 53[d] sanctus Gregorius, multa | ecclesie comoda accreverunt; et tamen radix illa fuit valde culpabilis. Et sic inter privatos ordines possessionatorum et fratrum creverunt et sunt multi sancti clerici et solemnes, quo tamen non obstante regula ordinis sapit stulticiam et peccatum. In cuius signum est inter sectas (illas) contencio, et Act. XXVI, 5 concomitatur eas detrimentum ecclesie. Tales autem apostolus vocat *sectas* (Actuum XXVI) et sic videtur scrip- Gal. V, 20 turam loqui de sectis (II Reg. II); et ad Gal. V[to]. Sicut S. igitur vitis suffertur a lignis infructuosis et rosa germinat inter spinas, sic sancti et subtiles clerici germinant in secta minus laudabili. Sed omnes illi, ut reor, vel in hora mortis, vel ante, percipiunt quod secta est defectuosa et gravis, et non [nisi] ut facilitat ad legem domini observandam. Ideo licet et oportet ipsam dimittere, sicut licuit dimittere ritus quos Christus instituit.

For the root may be very bad and yet the offshoots holy and glorious: as in us, children of Adam. There have been and are many good men among them; and yet the rule of their Order is foolish and sinful.

Nec oportet timere de multitudine et permanencia talis secte, quia tales affecciones private indicant amorem inordinatum hominis ad sua, postpositis bonis communibus legis dei. Quilibet enim Christianus affectaret per media licita quod, facta toto humano genere magis unicordi et simili, secta sua et quelibet alia privata A 42[c] foret sagaciter dissoluta; quia aliter oporteret | religiosos in diversis sectis habere licite affecciones contrarias et voluntati dei, quia sibi invicem repugnantes.

The reason these sects have lasted so long is that human and private affections have been too strong; but every Christian should wish them to be abolished, that all men should become 'of one mind.'

T. Tercio arguitur per hoc, quod papa et alii prelati tales ordines perpetuo confirmarunt: vel igitur oportet B 54[a] ordinaciones papales | dissolvere, vel omnes illas sectas fovere et defendere. Hic dicitur quod multi prelati sunt (in isto) patronis magis culpabiles, ut illi qui fovent symoniace sectas tales. Ideo dicitur, quod papa approbat totum quod est laudabile in sectis huiusmodi, et aliud contempnit; sicut, condicione tacita, confirmat illas pro periodo, qua deus decreverit quod durabunt; multe autem suborte defecerant, et alie deficient pro termino noto deo; deus enim ordinavit illas secundum totum bonum in eis succedere, proficere et finire, sed modo civilis dominii propter imperfectionem non intrant patriam, ymo cum una sit contraria alteri et deo atque ecclesie, oportet ipsas cessare; dicitur enim quamlibet istarum sectarum secundum multa supposita velle omnem reli-

3[rd] Objection. The Pope and other prelates have approved these orders for ever, so we have either to quash the Pope's decision or to be friendly to these sects. We may say that the Pope approves only what is praiseworthy in these orders, not the rest; and it that *for ever* means so long as God will allow them to exist. Another reason for their destruction is that they are contrary to each other, to God,

8, 9. scriptura B. 9 II *deest* F. 10, 11. et rosa — spinas *deest* F. 17. multiplicacione CE. 18. mundificant B. 22. similiter A. 38. infeccionem AB. 39. et sic *pro* et deo CDE. 41. sectarum *deest* EF.

and to the Church; striving to draw all goods to themselves, and doing harm to the commonwealth by their wrangling. The fact is that they love their own sect inordinately; which is proved by the disproportion of their punishments when God's commandments or their rules are broken. This is sheer idolatry. I use the word *idolatry* since to think more of a man or of his rule than of God, is idolatry. Third Question. Whether vows of perpetual obedience are expedient. Negatived: same reasons as above. It is tempting God; for the Superior may be a fool. We have no Scripture warrant for such obedience. And it savours of worldliness since a professed religious is more strictly bound than a lay vassal besides destroying liberty. But nothing is better than obedience to God; and "Obedience is better than sacrifice" evidently refers to this.

gionem esse de secta sua et omnia bona communia religiosis dari singulariter secte sue; quod cum sit contrarium voluntati divine et utilitati reipublice, patet quam inseparabile est istis privatis ordinibus proprietarie inordinate appetere, et ordinem suum ac regulam inordinate diligere. Quis enim de tali secta multis mandatis dei non plus ponderat regulas secte sue? patet | ex punicionibus que emanant ex communi con- [A 42d] sensu, quod pauci vel nulli a tali ydolatria sunt immunes. Quomodo igitur non fieret sibi et matri nostre utilius, quod intellectus et affectus, dimisso istorum onere, occupati forent circa celestia vel circa media utiliora et faciliora in lege Christi expressa? Talis igitur secta, diffusa per ecclesiam, foret perfeccior; et signanter loquor de ydolatria, | quia qui ponderat hominem vel [B 54b] ordinacionem suam plus quam deum, vel ordinacionem suam ut sic, est ydolatra: in quo in privatis ordinibus multi peccant, quia quandoque tradiciones humanas nimis preponderant.

Sed tercio dubitatur, si expedit ecclesie tales particulares obediencias fieri sub voto perpetuo privato preposito. Et videtur quod non, ex racionibus factis contra privatos ordines. Similiter stulticia et dei temptacio videtur hominem obligare se ad obedienciam cuiuscunque talis privati prepositi, sive discretus fuerit, sive stultus. Similiter talis obediencia non est exemplata in scriptura ad laudem prudencie. Cum igitur in scriptura sit omnis veritas et specialiter Christiana religio, videtur quod obediencia sit a clericis fugienda; sapit enim civilitatem, cum professus devenit homo sui prepositi, eciam usque ad carcerem vel mortem striccius quam vasallus obligatur domino seculari. Tollit eciam libertatem | merendi, ut docet Augustinus in *"De que-* [A 43a] *stionibus veteris et nove legis"*, capitulo 124to; et sepe intricat obedienciarium cum stulto preposito.

Hic dixi, quod nichil est religiosius quam obediencia facta deo, ut docet decretum 8 (questione 1, capitulo Sciendum); ymo, ut dicit Samuel I. Reg. XV. *"Melior est obediencia quam victime, et quasi ariolandi est*

1. communiter CD; data communiter BE; bona data communiter F. 8. excommunicacionibus E. 19. ponderant F. 29. quod talis EF. 30, 31. devovens hoc suo preposito E. 34. capitulo 124to *deest* FF. 35. prepositi E. 38. quod Samuel dicit E. 39. victima BE.

37. Decr. Grat. 2a pars. Causa VIII, qu. I, c. X.

peccatum repugnare, et quasi scelus ydolatrie nolle acquiescere". "Sola obediencia", inquit decretum, "est virtus que fidei possidet meritum, sine qua quilibet esse infidelis convincitur, eciam si fidelis esse videatur. "Victimis", inquit, "mactatur caro aliena, sed per obedienciam mac- [B 54c] tatur voluntas propria". Ubi patet | luce clarius quod loquitur de obediencia deo debita.

X. Et patet quantum blasfemant privati prepositi, qui ex scriptura vel lege ecclesie vendicant sibi istam obedienciam. Sicut enim baptisant religionem et ordinem, sic et obedienciam, et professionem, et alia quibus excecant subditos. Saul enim in lege veteri et omnis fidelis sub pena dampnacionis debet taliter obedire; sed procul hoc ab obediencia adinventa. Debet enim secundum religionem Christi quilibet fidelis obedire cuilibet; et melior debet esse obediencior, cum deus obedit creaturis, ut patet ex fide scripture (Josue X), et alibi diffuse prosequutus sum.

It is blasphemy for a man to claim such obedience.

Et preter istam religiosam obedienciam est dare obe- [A 43b] dienciam privatam ex voto vel pacto, | qualiter uxor obedit marito et subiectus suo episcopo. Et ista obediencia nec valet nec est servanda, nisi de quanto preparat ad priorem obedienciam debitam legi dei. Ideo, ut diffuse exposui, virtute istius obediencie, tenetur subditus in casu rebellare contra iniustum prepositum, ut virtute istius obediencie Paulus in facie re- [Gal. II, 11] stitit Petro, quia reprehensibilis erat, ut dicitur ad Gall. II. Et sic episcopi et omnis populus debet resistere [Y.] pape symoniaco vel prelato tali concorditer; cum obediencia debita deo sit infinitum pocior, nec est servanda inferior obediencia, nisi de quanto instrumentatur per illam ad destruendum vicia et virtutum plantaria inserendum. Quod si prelatus preficitur secundum leges regis superbie ut fratres suos excellat imperio et ut prospere ac voluptuose vivat in seculo; [B 54d] tunc, secundum predictam le | gem beati Gregorii, obediencia talis, si aliquid concupiscencie de suo habuerit, nulla est, eciam si prospera subiecto preceperit; quia non valet nisi de quanto fit deo ad perficiendum quod ipse precipit.

Religious obedience is only due to God; private obedience, due to man, ought to obtain only so far forth as it is an auxiliary to the first. There are cases when, like Paul, the subject ought to 'resist' his superior. For instance, in the case of a simoniacal Pope or Bishop.

Obedience in such a case is without merit, even if the command is for the good of the subject. For the will of God ought to be first considered.

2. veritas. 9. ex lege E; *ib.* usurpant seu vend. B. 17. obedivit E; *ib.* creature E. 27. ut dicitur ad *deest* EF. 31. inferiori E. 31, 32. ministratur D. 34. et *pro* ut F. 38. et *pro* eciam E. 39. sit BDE. 40. ad quod ipse precepit perficiendum B.

Et patet quod religione secundum tradiciones hominum declinante ad seculum, periculosum et stultum est religiosum cuicunque preposito, qui successerit pro suo perpetuo obligari. Nam vir ex voto non copulatur uxori simplici, nisi contractus in suo inicio fuerit consonus legi dei: igitur multo magis non obligaret se sic cece et infundabiliter multis uxoribus. Et multo evidencius | A 43[c] prudencia serpentina horreret religiosum obligari sic stulto preposito, quod faciat quicquid ipse mandaverit; quod posset bene fieri, quia sic solveretur religio ex eleccione stulta et culpabili minus boni; quia, prelato ignaro precipiente quod religiosus subiectus cognoscit sibi obesse vel quo ad deum in racione meriti minus proficere, subditus dicitur postponere melius quod deus precipit.

As a husband cannot be joined to one wife, unless the contract is according to God's law; and much less to many wives: so the religious cannot be bound to obey whatever a superior may order him. An ignorant superior commands what is not good for his inferior, and the latter has to believe that by obedience it becomes good, because commanded. If so, the superior needs the infallibility of God.

Et ultra blasfeme garritur, quod virtute sompniate obediencie sit melius subdito quicquid prelatus preceperit. Et tunc indubie est inpeccabilis sicut deus, quia facillime peccare poterit in ducatu huiusmodi gregis sui. Ideo cecantur multi de melioracione meriti ex mandato prepositi vel ex voto; nam si secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis meruerit, ad quod est sepe extra religionem inventam disposicior, tam laudabiliter vivit et securus extra talem ordinem sicut intra. Patet ex gestis apostolorum et lege dei, que istam cautelam subticiunt, nec obest quod | B 55[a] talis observancia quandoque prodest per accidens cum deus aliter non sineret ipsam esse.

That obedience sometimes happens to render good service is no objection.

2. declinantes E. 3. successerit taliter BE. 4. non copulatur *deest* E. 6. dei *deest* D; *ib.* ergo E. 10. potest E. 11. culpabiliter B. 12. ingrato E. 16. et tunc B. 17. subiecto E. 18. peccabilis CD. 22. ex toto E. 23. dispositus E; disposicionem B. 24. infra EF. 26. subticuit C; substituit EF.

CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

De Symonia Religiosorum.

Restat videre ulterius si in religione exproprietaria possunt esse symoniaci, sive apostate. Nec dubium quin illud contingit crebrius, licet apostasia sit mundo abscondita; oportet enim primum apostatam cum bono religionis apostasiam absconditam subtilius commiscere, cum scola sua crescit continue in subtilitate malicie.

Can there be simoniacs and apostates in a 'religion' in which possession is not allowed? There can be, and there are, but in a hidden manner.

Suppono autem quod loquamur de religione et apostasia conformiter legi dei; ut dicunt habitus tales simpliciter quo ad deum. Alia autem sunt nominetenus talia et non simpliciter, cum variantur secundum humana iudicia, et multiplicantur secundum hominum fantasias. Secundo suppono quod apostasia comittitur, quandocunque quis in mortali peccato ceciderit; quia semper tunc dirumpens religionem domini retrocedit; et hoc sonat apostasiam, ut dicunt gramatica et decretum 26, questione ultima, capitulo *"Non observetis."* Quamvis autem omnis apostasia sit gravis in homine, tamen apostasia in religiosis et specialiter in exproprietarie viventibus est deo et ecclesie magis odibilis, quia ubi votum strictitudinis vite est deo solemnius et mundo patencius apostatatur gravius.

Before proving this, the author notes: *First,* that he is speaking of apostasy according to the meaning given to the word in God's law, not in man's. And, *second,* that every mortal sin, being a *backsliding,* is an apostasy.

Et istis duobus suppositis intendo procedere, non secundum vaticinium Hildegardis vel fabulas, sed secundum fidem scripture et secundum possibilitatem late vie apostasis. Et sic neminem accusabo, sed dicam

How he intends to proceed. 1st According to Scripture;

1. De symonia religiosorum *deest* ABDEF. 5. apostasiam E. 8, 9. apostata F. 14. peccato *deest* F. 16. gramatici B. 17. capitulo *deest* F. 21. striccius E. 24. Eldegaris ACD; Hildegaris F. 26. sic *deest* E.

24. St. Hildegard (1098—1179) abbess of St. Rupert, near Bingen. For life and works, see the whole of t. 197 of Migne's edition of the Fathers. Her correspondence (145 letters) illustrates the state of the Church at the time. The Lollards often quoted her. See Matthew, W.'s E. W. pp. 11, 492. Buddensieg, W.'s Pol. Works, vol. I, p. 67; Trialogus p. 338. — She also wrote three books of visions, an account of ten other visions, and a curious work on Natural Science.

2nd Conditionally, accusing no one, but pointing out the characteristics of an apostate; following the seven points laid down by Solomon, and quoted at the beginning of this work.

modos quibus contingit apostatare et annectam condicionem: si frater sic graditur, tunc est in lata via | [B 55b] apostate; ut conscii per dei graciam resipiscant.

I. Homo apostata, vir inutilis. 1st Frailty of man denoted; homo apostata — backslider. 2nd First degree: uselessness.

Potest autem totum genus apostasie fratrum reduci ad septenarium quem Salomon recitat Prov. 6to, et [Prov. VI, 12—14] recitatur in principio huius: *homo*, | inquit, *apostata, vir* [A 44a] *inutilis*, ubi primo notatur terrena fragilitas retrocedens, dum dicitur: homo apostata; et secundo adiungitur primus gradus apostasie, dum dicitur: vir inutilis; et tercio coniungitur unio fortitudinis malicie, dum vocatur vir. Sicut enim tota ecclesia est unus homo et persona [Prov. XXXI, 10—31] muliebris fortis, ut patet Prov. 31, sic tota multitudo apostatarum est una persona virilis, contra naturam uxor dyaboli et ex fragilitate terre faciliter in preceps graditur.

The first sin of apostasy is a sin of omission; for one cannot do wrong without omitting to do right. This is the 'foot of pride' of the Psalmist, and the 'beginning of pride' of Ecclesiasticus. And this omission is signified by the word inutilis. The order of Friars was instituted to make up for the defects of Prelates, and to revive the life of apostles. That is their first duty. If deficient in that, no matter what else they do, they are simoniacs and apostates. The devil does his utmost to discourage; and therefore Christ gave for our encouragement the parable of the talents.

Primum igitur peccatum apostasie est peccatum obmissionis, cum inpossibile sit hominem peccatum comittere, nisi prius omittendo peccaverit, ut suppono [Psalm. XXXV, 12] ex declaratis alibi. Ideo vocatur in psalmo 35, "Pes superbie." "Non veniat michi, inquit, pes superbie, et manus peccatoris non moveat me." Pro illo adduci [Ecclus. X, 14] potest illud Ecclesiastici "Inicium superbie hominis apostotare a deo." Ista autem omissio exprimitur per hoc quod apostata est persona inutilis. Constat quidem [B.] quod totus ordo fratrum subintroductus est in ecclesiam ut suppleat defectus prelatorum et evagancium clericorum et per consequens ut vitam apostolorum resuscitet in vita et opere. Quod si fuerit in officio isto inutilis, quis dampnabilius apostotat omittendo, dico, ewangelizare et veritates ewangelicas verbo et opere declarare, et usque ad mortem, si opportet, defendere. Hoc igitur est primum fratrum officium, quo omisso | [B 55c] sequitur totum residuum esse inutile, quia quicquid oraverint vel ministraverint, ex crimine symonie et apostasie nocet ecclesie. Symonia dico, quia apostolicam dignitatem vendunt pro lucro temporali abiecto pro quo vecorditer ita tacent. Unde quia dyaboli est primo deterrere milites Christi inducendo [Matth. XXV, 14] vecordiam, ideo Christus Math. X° animavit eos ex similitudine sui et augmento meriti ac ex pena servata servo inutili ad fiducialiter predicandum.

3. celerius resipiscant EF. 8. dicit E. 9. vir *deest* EF. 10. connectitur E; annectitur B. 16. hominem *deest* E. 18. oratur E. 19. "Non — pes *deest* F. 21. Eccles. ABD; *ib.* hominis *deest* E. 22. per hoc *deest* E. 24. est *deest* C. 25. suppleatur B. 28. omittendo omittendo CF. 38. Mt 10, et alibi BF; *ib.* et alibi generaliter *pro* animavit E.

Et revera fides modica ut granum synapis torpentes resolveret in lacrimas pro omissis, et ad virilem satisfaccionem genua debilia roboraret; infidelitas enim evitat servum taliter ociantem. Si igitur vocatus es in domum domini ad ewangelizandum, fac ad quid venisti. Quia ut ait Crisostomus operis inperfecti: "Prudens pater familias non contentatur, quod serwus vivat et comedat in domo ecclesie"; sed, ut ayt Gregorius: "Serwum a bono opere torpentem dampnat." Si enim dampnabit in die iudicii eciam activos pro omissione operum misericordie corporalis, ut patet Math. XXVto, quomodo credimus non agravabit penam in contemplativos, quibus ad hoc talenta comiserat, dum ociantur in pecunia accepta domini, cum sciunt, quod deus infinitum plus appreciatur VII A 44c opera misericordie spiritualis quam opera | misericordie corporalis? "Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci."

If they are called by God, let them do that which they are called to do.

If Christ will condemn for the omission of works of corporal mercy, what will he do to those who omitted the deeds of spiritual mercy, much more desired by Him?

Et tercio moveret quod omnes tales ex vecordia omittentes istud officium sunt proditores veritatis magis B 55d quam Scarioth; ut docet | Crisostomus omelia 45ta operis inperfecti; et ponitur in decretis XI, questione 3: *Non licet*. "Scarioth quidem abscondite prodidit veritatem nondum glorificatam post pauca carismata, isti autem patenter produnt veritatem ad multorum perdicionem: et hoc post eius glorificacionem, post ewangelii publicacionem et tot carismatum et exemplorum salutarium accepcionem." Ideo cum omnes et singuli faciunt unam prodicionem, verisimile est quod ingratitudo culpe sit gravior. Recolerent, inquam, quomodo dicunt et iactant se similius sequi Christum, et quomodo Christus ad hoc natus est, et venit in mundum Joh. XVIII, 37 ut testimonium perhibeat veritati, Joh. XVIII, et tunc possunt considerare quantum apostatando post dominum falsitatis degenerant. Si enim attornatus vel procurator terreni negocii sit negligens in negocio post acceptam mercedem, dominus eius iuste debet ipsum ut infidelem diffidere, et ut serwum inutilem contempnere; quanto

To omit these duties is to be a worse traitor than Judas.

He betrayed Truth, but not yet glorified Truth: these betray it after its glorification.

They say they follow Christ; Christ came into this world only to bear witness to truth. Have they not degenerated?

If an attorney is negligent, his earthly lord spurns him.

1. torpens B. 2. et *deest* E. 3. roboraret *deest* D. 3, 4. itaque evirat F. 4. evirant E. 6. dicit F; *ib.* omelia operis EF; *ib.* Prudens E. 12. credibilius *alia manu* B. 14. dum E. 19. 49 EF. 21. absolute ACD. 28. culpe eorum F. 36. nequam EF.

6. The author referred to is not Chrysostom, but, as Baronius and Tillemont believe, an Arian posterior to Theodosius. See Migne, Patr. series Greca, t. 56, p. 601. 8. St. Greg. Lib. I. Hom. in Ev. N° 9 (p. 1106, t. 76 of Migne). 21. Quotation not to be found there, nor anywhere near.

How much more the Lord of glory, in so much greater a cause, with a reward so much more abundant, and a so much stricter obligation!

magis rex celorum, qui dignatus est nos vocare adiutores in causa sua, post negligenciam proditoriam condempnabit, et eo | A 44 severius quo causa est ponderancior, quo merces preaccepta est copiosior et quo obligacio est striccior atque utilior.

First excuse: Time, place, example, &c. All bad. The time to work is *now*.

And John the Baptist and so many martyrs have bled in the cause of Christ.

No excuse is possible for a Christian before the Judge.

C. Nec capit remissionem excusacio de oportunitate loci et temporis, de assistencia instrumenti sive iuvaminis et de exemplacione precedenti contra pompam hostis imbecillis. Ecce, inquam, nunc tempus acceptabile, in quo princeps mundi huius cum milicia sua arma ubique terrarum diffuderat, et rex regum promisit ecclesie, quod sibi assisteret omnibus | B 56[a] diebus, usque ad consumacionem seculi. Ac tercio in ista causa decertarunt baptista et cuncti martires, scientes quod super omnia vincit veritas. (III. Esdr. IV, 35—40) Quomodocunque itaque palliaverit Christianus, negligencia vel ocium non excusat eum aput iudicem scrutantem corda et renes in finali iudicio; sed adhuc ex comentis dyaboli ostenditur maior excusacio in peccatis.

Second excuse: They say that no more remains to do; but the life of Christ tells us that even our priests are far from what they should be.

Bad priests ruin the people; and therefore Christ was always against them.

They are all worldly, from first to last, idolatrous soldiers of the Devil.

They live as if faith, hope and charity were dying out.

Second excuse: Nothing should be said against Bishops.

Dicitur enim quod tota communitas servat fidem, et non restat hostis ecclesie, quem fidelis impeteret. Sed legamus vitam Christi et apostolorum, et videamus quantum ab ipsa eciam sacerdotes nostri degenerant; et tunc habemus ad similitudinem Christi exemplum contra principes sacerdotum invehere. Nam iuxta testimonium beati Gregorii causa ruine populi sunt sacerdotes mali. Et hec racio, quare Christus contra illos institit inportune. Revera a maximo usque ad minimum omnes infideliter sunt mundo dediti; et sic | A 45[a] ubique terrarum sparguntur ydolatre milites principis mundi huius. Sic quod fides, spes et caritas extinguntur; nam in re dicunt hodie, quod sicud tempus exigit variacionem ad contrarium in vita presbiteri, sic oportet fidem, spem, et caritatem variari a virtutibus prioribus quasi contrarie. Fratres autem considerarent statum professionis sue, et inveherent efficaciter contra ista comenta dyaboli. Secunda excusacio est, quod episcopalis dignitas eximit et tradiciones humane sentenciant, quod non dicatur aliquid contra tales. Sed istam blasfemiam debent fratres destruere. Non enim est lex, sed blasfemia

3. sevius B. 4. tepidior ACD. 7. ministerii B; ministri F. 8. precepti E. 15. Ezdre 2°. Quomodocunque ita E. 17. revere E. 22. fidem E; *ib.* et videamus *deest* ACD. 25. doctrinam B. 26. beati *deest* BEF. 30. principes huius mundi E. 32. homines *pro* hodie EF. 36. tormenta E. 40. est *deest* AB.

contra deum. Ipse autem reprehendit severe principes sacerdotum et Scarioth; et irreligiosa dotacio non facit dignitatem pontificum nostrorum plus inclitam, sed accusans pocius magis fedat.

Christ blamed the High Priests. And an impious endowment pollutes the episcopal dignity.

B 56b Inveteratur itaque | irreligiosa sacerdotum malicia; sic quod ex vi conswetudinis inficit magnam ecclesiam. Nec videtur quomodo secure sanaretur ista infirmitas, nisi subtrahendo secundum formam quam Christus instituit causam morbi. Fratres autem, licet ex professione et ordine coguntur illud concedere, tamen querentes multiplex subterfugium vecorditer retrocedunt. Fatentur enim, quod status eorum, quia exproprietarius, est perfeccior et vite Christi similior, in tantum quod quotquot eciam de prelatis possessionatis A 45b fuerint fratres profitentur quod viverent | perfeccius, habendo moderate et exproprietarie omnia in communi. Et tamen, sibi ipsis contrarii, vel odiunt vel tacent quod perfeccius foret totum clerum vivere exproprietarie, sicut Christus instituit atque vixit.

The Friars, obliged to grant this, seek subterfuges, and backslide. They grant that their own life is more like Christ's as being without possessions. And yet they hate the idea of the whole clergy living so.

D. Tercia excusacio est turpior, quod si fratres exasperarent contra possessionatos defendentes predictam sentenciam, tunc prelati insurgerent contra illos, et privarentur elemosinis populi; et sic dissolveretur sua religio. Ideo fertur, quod in communibus eorum conciliis diffinitur vel quod non predicent aut foveant predictam sentenciam, vel quod invehant tacite contra illam. In hoc enim ebulit eorum apostasia ydolatra, quia non propter timorem pene corporis, sed propter avariciam temporalium apostatant contra Christum. Nonne ex fide scripture laudatur Hebreorum laycalis religio, quia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio receperunt. (Hebr. X, 34) Ad Hebr. X. Nonne talis avarus ex testimonio apostoli ad Colocens. III° (Col. III, 5) est dampnandus ydolatra, quia stercora temporalium tanquam deum suum veritati preponderat? Nonne pharisei uno consensu ex hinc conspiraverant contra catholicam veritatem?

Third excuse: If the Friars exasperate the possessioners, their order will be starved out. It is said that in their councils they have decided not to preach this opinion, or to oppose it. It is for temporal greed that they act against their convictions; such greed is damnable idolatry; the very motive that made the Pharisees conspire against Christ.

Non igitur posset se inhabilitare patencius ad quas-B 56c cunque | elemosinas corporales vel defensionem vite, cum dicunt, ut sic, tanquam infideles apostate, quod

Nothing could render them more unworthy of getting any alms.

2. religiosa E. 4. excusans B. 10. cognoscuntur E. 11, 12. recedunt E. 15. fiunt E. 17. cum C. 21. contra predictam E. 24. nam *pro* ideo EF; *ib.* quibus *pro* communibus B. 24, 25. consiliis. 26. tante E. 27. autem *pro* enim E. 32. susceperunt EF. 32, 33. vel anser secundum testimonium E; *ib.* Augustus secundum testimonium F. 35. preponderant E. 36. conspiraverant infideliter BE. 39. sint; *alia manu* sic B.

As for the existence of the Order, they should, according to Scripture, let the whole world perish, rather than consent to a falsehood.

favor infidelium et lucrum populi est prestancior | quam A 45^c salus hominum vel veritas legis dei. Et quantum ad ordinis continuacionem, patet ex fide scripture et testimonio sanctorum doctorum, quod cicius permiterent totum mundum dissolvi, quod est plus quam omnes religiones private, antequam consentirent huius modi falsitati.

Traditions or professions bidding the concealment of Gospel truth have no weight. They should prefer the destruction of their Order, to being silent on the truth.

Ideo religiosi et subtiliores de fratribus cognoscentes istam perfidiam defendunt et detegunt tales veritates catholicas, dicentes de apostatis ipsis contrariis illud psalmi II[i] *"Dirumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum"*. Non enim valent tradiciones vel professiones istorum ordinum que movent quod veritas ewangelica sit celata; prius igitur optarent dissolucionem sui ordinis perpetuo, sicut fuit tempore prosperitatis ecclesie, antequam minimam veritatem fidei reticerent. Hec igitur est cautela dyaboli solemnisare sic privatos ordines et adinvenciones hominum, ut diligantur et defendantur attencius quam lex dei. Ista igitur infidelis omissio est prima apostasia quam concipio contra fratres.

II. Graditur ore perverso. This denotes the sins of the tongue.

Three sorts of sins to be noted here: lying, flattery, and evil-speaking.

Secunda vero apostasia describitur per hoc quod E. vir apostata *graditur ore perverso;* in quo notatur vicium lingwe primum inter omnia sensibilia peccata commissionis apostatis istis competere. Sicut enim primo et precipue convenit apostolis inter actus sensibiles honorare deum in lingwa ad | edificacionem ecclesie, A 45^d sic primo apostotatur in viciis istis contrariis. Quamvis autem secundum Parisiensem sint in lingwa 14 viciorum genera, sufficit tamen notare tria | genera pro B 56^d presenti, scilicet mendacium, adulacionem et detraccionem.

1st Lying. Whoso follows the Father of lies is an apostate. Lying in jest or to render service is said to be frequent among the Friars. Common saying: This is affirmed by a friar: therefore it is false.

Mendacium autem committunt multi apostate; et per consequens sequendo patrem mendacii apostotant a domino veritatis; quia, ut diffuse declarat Augustinus, inter VIII genera mendacii mendacium iocosum et officiosum, que sunt levissima, sunt in viris qui debent esse perfecti ut fratres mortalia peccata. Et tamen dicitur quod inter fratres crebrescit hoc peccatum; in tantum quod arguitur tanquam argumento probabili:

3. ordinacionem E. 14. collata D; *ib.* ergo E. 17. reciperent B. 20. prima et gravissima C; *ib.* gravissima apostasia EF. 28. si E. 29, 30. 24 genera viciorum EF. 37. sunt *deest* E. 38. cum E. 39. Vitium F. 40. arguitur *deest* E.

"Frater, vel scribendo vel eloquendo, auctorisat istam sentenciam; igitur falsum"; et sic ille qui debet ponere ori suo custodiam post iniunctum silencium contra sentenciam Jacobi apostoli, in loquacitate magis effrenis elabitur. Et ubi alii mendaces ex residencia paucos inficiunt, talis apostata, vagando per patrias, seminat spissim mendacia.

So the Friar is a babbler; and a most hurtful one, because he goes about sowing lies.

Ideo dicit signanter sapiens, quod graditur ore perverso, perverso, dico, a loquela Christi virtuosa atque veridica ad fabulas mundi viciosas atque falsidecas. Recoleremus, inquam, quod verba sacerdotis qui debet esse os domini sint ut ewangelium Christi iuxta pre- I. Petr. IV, 11 ceptum Christi in Petro 1ª Petr. 4to *"Si quis loquitur,"* A 45ª libret | loquelam sic veritate sagaci quod proferat *"quasi sermones dei."* Et sic omne genus peccati, cum sit contra filium potest dici mendacium.

Note the word *perverso;* turned away from Christ's teaching.

De adulacione vero licet sit omnimodo deo odibilis, tamen adulacio in predicacionibus est magis odibilis. Cum enim homo per predicacionem generabit principi spirituales filios, patet quod duplicitate sermonis adulatorie generabit filios adulteros dyaboli. Et hinc dicit apo- II. Cor. 11, 17 stolus IIª Cor. II°; *"Non"* inquit, *"sumus sicut plurimi, adulterantes verbum dei; sed ex sinceritate, sicut ex deo, coram deo, in Christo loquimur."* Ille autem B 57ª adulteratur verbum domini, qui populo detrahente | a Christi servicio ipsum induit; cum tale semen adulterinos filios procreabit. Ille autem ex sinceritate loquitur predicando, qui non propter questum, vel privatum commodum, sed pure propter honorem dei et edificacionem proximi in persona Christi loquitur. Talis autem vitabit fabulas et quicquid est isti fini inpertinens; et per consequens tenebit veritatem non quamcunque sed edificativam de deo, et tanquam cognoscens F. deum cui servit cuncta prospicere, ut dicit apostolus; *"loquitur coram deo,"* et propter verba quinque, scilicet verbum fidei, verbum virtutum amplectendum, verbum viciorum fugiendum, propter aquirendum terminum vie virtutum, scilicet beatitudinem quam speramus, et propter fugiendum terminum viciorum, A 46ᵇ scilicet dampnacionem perpetuam quam | odimus. Dicit

2nd Flattery. — 1st General principles. Abominable to God everywhere, flattery is still worse in the mouth of a preacher. He ought to beget spiritual children; he begets adulterous children of the Devil. He adulterates the Word of God, who uses it to turn the people away from Christ's service. And he speaks sincerely, who speaks only for God's glory, not for gain. Such a one will speak five sorts of words. Words of faith in favour of virtue, contrary to vice, leading the soul to Heaven and warning it away from Hell.

2. si EF. 3. stricciorem custodiam EF. 12. Christi *deest* F. 13. in Petro *deest* E. 18. predicatioribus E. 20, 21. petet quod — generabit *deest* C. 21. filios *deest* ABC. 24. in proximo *pro* in Christo CD. 35. quinque *deest* E. 36. virtutum *pro* verbum virtutum F. 39. crimen *pro* terminnm E.

The Apostle prefers five intelligible words to ten thousand in an unknown tongue.

apostolus 1ª Cor. XIV. "In ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui, ut et alios instruam, quam decem milia verborum lingua." Hec autem quinque verba secundum cooperacionem sensus limitat nobis apostolus, ne evagemur in verbis floridis et diffusis, que questum vel fastum sapiunt, sicut faciunt qui se ipsos predicant et non Christum. I. Cor. XIV, 19

The apostle's prophecy about evil days to come, doctrines of devils, men speaking lies in hypocrisy, &c.

2nd Application of preceding principles and texts to the Friars. Their love of human traditions, of fables, whereby both they and their hearers depart from the faith. 'Spiritus' means those who live spiritually; i. e. the religious or the clergy; who become spirits of error, when they sow false doctrine.

Unde apostolus videns tales futuros in ecclesia 1 Thim. IV sic loquitur: "Spiritus" inquit, "manifeste dicit quod in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum, in ypocrisi loquencium mendacium, et cauteriatam habencium conscienciam." Illi autem discedunt a fide, qui dimisso ewangelio preponderant tradiciones hominum, sicut faciunt hodie illi, qui "coacervant sibi magistros prurientes auribus, a veritate avertunt auditum et ad fabulas convertuntur," ut loquitur apostolus IIª Thim. IV° et sic discedunt a fide tam ewangelisantes quam ewangelisandi, et utrique dupliciter: vel preponderantes | tradiciones hominum, vel fabulas extra fidem scripture. Per spiritus erroris, intelliguntur illi, qui spiritualiter vivunt, ut religiosi et clerici. Illi enim vocantur spiritus: Luc. IX°: "*Nescitis cuius spiritus estis,*" dicit Jesus suis apostolis; et tunc sunt spiritus erroris, quando seminant doctrinam extraneam adinventam, ad quam attendunt layci | ut ewangelium. Et superiores istorum vocantur demonia in ypocrisi loquencia. Demonia sunt, quia spiritus iuxta dicta; et mali indubie: et sic demonia. I. Tim. IV, 1, 2 — I. Tim. IV, 3 — B 57b — A 46c

According to Grosseteste, a monk that leaves his cloister is a dead body wrapped in funeral bands, and leaving its sepulchre, moved by the Devil.

Unde Linconiensis dicit, quod religiosus de claustro egressus, et specialiter de claustro anime, est cadaver mortuum, pannis funebribus involutum, de sepulchro egressum, a dyabolo inter homines agitatum. "Cadaver," inquit, "mortuum, quia corpus quod mendaciter profitetur se mortuum quo ad mundum et sic ex carencia spiritus vivificantis est fetens mortuum quo ad deum; et de sepulchro egreditur, quando sic exit de claustro in quo debuit sepeliri." Et hos dicit apostolum prophetare. IIª ad Thim. III, cum dicit quod penetrant II. Tim. III, 6

1. duo E. 5. verbis *deest* F. 9. alloquitur E; aloquitur B. 11. a fide *deest* E. 13. suam conscienciam BEF. 15. illi homines BEF. 19. uterque ABE; *ib.* tripliciter EF. 21. errorum C. 22. spiritualiter C. 25. errorum CE. 34, 35. quia corpus — mortuum *deest* EF. 35. sed *pro* se D. 38. dicitur E; *ib.* apostolus E. 39. dicens BEF.

domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas. Panni autem religiosi dicuntur ex qualitate indumenta funebria. "Nec dubium," inquit doctor "quin, si talis sit a dyabolo valde fugibiliter et horride inter homines agitatus, non solum a persona Luciferi, sed a papa vel capitaneo talis secte"; talis enim propter sensibilem eius paten- Psalm. XC, 6 ciam vocatur psalmo XC: *Demonium meridianum*, cuius doctrina est loqui in ypocrisi quia, simulando sanctitatem loquitur mendacium, dum falsitatem loquitur: que est scola patris mendacii.

And he is moved by the devil, in person, as represented by the Pope and the heads of the order. He is a 'noonday devil' simulating sanctity and telling falsehoods.

G. Sed si quis remurmurat contra hunc sensum, dico primo quod oportet prophetiam apostoli ut fidem B 57c credere, cum profiteatur quod "spiritus manifeste dicit." A 46d Secundo dico | cum apostolus dicat | tales futuros in tempore periculoso et in Thimoteo docet ecclesiam huiusmodi devitare, fidelis et specialiter Theologus daret operam ad habendum sensum spiritus in dicta prophecia apostoli. Et tercio, dico quod sive papa sive fratres sive seculares perfecerint excellencius prophetatam sentenciam; illi sunt quos describit apostolus devitandos.

This prophecy of the Apostle must be believed by all Christians.

So all Christians should understand the sense of these words, to avoid those who are thus noted.

Ideo, quicunque volueris eximi a dicta secta, cave a condicionibus quas describit apostolus, quia perficiendo predictas condiciones pestiferas, tu es ille refuga quem spiritus sanctus predicit ecclesie fugiendum.

But take care that you are not among them, yourself, if you fulfil the conditions.

Tercia vero species peccati lingwe, quod est proprium dictis apostaticis, est serpentina detraccio. Ipsi enim more Luciferi delectantur mordere membra Christi mendacio, non quocunque, sed quod sonat denigracionem status persone quam mordent; et ut coloracius fingant facinus venenosum, dicunt quod sic audierant: et sic hoc referunt ut auditum, non propter caritatem quam habent ad personam quam mordent sed ut facinus quod concipiunt in persona quam odiunt amplius dilatetur. Esto, inquam, quod talis apostota vel alius audivit a se ipso hoc venenum pestiferum; adhuc examinaret fructum loquele et intencionem loquendi, antequam in talia verba superflua ebulliret. Hec igitur A 47a condicio tortuosi serpentis est a cunctis Christianis | et specialiter exproprietariis et qui astringuntur silencio

3rd Evil speaking. Evil speakers delight in biting the members of Christ. They say that they have *heard* this or that.

But supposing that they had heard it, they ought to examine well whether the repetition of it would be of any utility.

3. doctor *deest* E. 4. agitatus ACD. 19. extollencius C; excellerint F. 24. illas EF. 29. quomodocumque E; *ib.* dignitatem EF. 32. referant BE. 35. enim *pro* inquam B.

Especially if they are of an Order bound to silence.

fugienda, quia Eccles. X° scribitur: "Si- mordeat serpens in silencio, nichil eo minus habet qui occulte detrahit." Unde vocatur canis rabidus. Et hinc Augustinus, pater religionis multiplicis, fertur fecisse sibi scribi in patulo mense sue. Eccles. X, 11 B 57ª

St. Augustine's motto, inscribed in his dining-room against evil-speakers.

Quisquis amat | dictis absentum rodere vitam
Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.

Isto igitur modo species secunda apostasie committitur.

The three other marks of apostasy, 'winking with the eye, beating with the foot, and speaking with the finger', though literally true of apostates, can also be taken in a figurative sense. By the *eye* is meant the intention according to the Gospel; for it directs all the movements of the soul.

Tres autem alie species possibiles inesse fratribus innuuntur dum sequitur: "Annuit oculis, - terit pede, digito loquitur"; licet autem corporalis inconstancia insit apostatis, cum agitantur a malo spiritu qui inordinate commovet omnia membra sua, tamen videtur quod spiritus sanctus voluit in istis esse sentenciam plus subtilem. Constat autem ex fide ewangelii (Math. VI) quod per oculos intelligitur intencio intellectus; quia per intellectum dirigitur tota alia operacio cognitiva anime, sicut omnia membra hominis diriguntur oculo corporali. H. Math. VI, 22

To wink with the eye means to turn aside from general good to private interest. This is to be a self-lover. It is almost impossible for any particular 'religion' to be without this sin. One perversion: men are entrapped into the Order at any age, in order to increase its numbers. This is foolishness; for Christ's religion is more perfect than the others into which men are induced to enter.

Ille igitur apostata facit nutum oculis, qui dimissa intencione boni communis annuit vel assentit privato comodo, quod est maxime Christiane religionis destruccio. Ideo apostolus vocat tales apostatas homines se ipsos amantes, ut patet IIª Thim. III, IIª Cor. XIII et ad Philippens. II. Et ab isto peccato impossibile vel | difficile est, quod privetur privata religio. Primus igitur error in intencione privata videtur, quod ad magnificandum privatum ordinem homines seducti in quacunque etate fallaciter inducuntur. Videtur igitur esse stulticia sic obligare pueros vel quoscumque; primo, quia status religionis Christiane simplicis est undequaque perfeccior, cum tradiciones sibi adiecte sint difficiles, periculose, et ex debilitate egentes confirmacione humana. Cum igitur quodcunque opus meritorium potest homo facere liberius extra talem ordinem privatum, quomodo non est stulcius ipsum ingredi ad merendum? Frater igitur, qui ipsum ingressum annuit dum statum perfecciorem tollit, peccat | non mediocriter contra regulam caritatis. A 47ᵇ B 58ª

1. Ecclesiastici CEF; *ib.* dicitur BEF. 4. sic B. 5. quis *deest* E; ib. absentem A; verbis B. 9. in nituntur E 13. sanctus *deest* E. 16. cognita B; *ib.* intellectu F. 17. minora *pro* membra C. 20. dimisso comodo comuni E. 23. ad *deest* E. 28. faci-liter ABCD.

Et multo evidencius ille, qui inducit pueros per mendacia et dona zophistica; quia ista videtur esse temptacio mali spiritus meridiani. Item non est prudentis dissolvere proporcionem et numerum quem deus voluerit in ecclesia observari, sed obligans hominem ut sit frater vel notorie vel ex sibi dubio dissolvit hunc ordinem: igitur undique peccat. Nam faciens hoc scienter peccaret graviter; et presumens in tam sibi ambiguo peccaret eciam, cum homo debet facere certe meritorium, dimisso ambiguo. Et hinc videtur Christum A 47[c] reprobasse Phariseos Math. XXIII. | "Ve vobis", inquit, Matth. XXIII, 15 "scribe et Pharisei ypocrite, qui circuitis mare et aridam ut faciatis unum proselitum; et cum fuerit factus, facitis illum filium Yehenne, duplo quam vos."

It is imprudent to change the proportion of numbers in the Church; and he who tries to increase his Order's numbers, either changes it, or risks doing so, and consequently sins in any case.

Quantum ad dissolucionem ordinis Christi patet ex fide, quod deus wult non omnes esse ewangelistas vel fratres; sed quosdam laycos, quosdam unius secte, quosdam alterius, ad edificacionem ecclesie. Ideo dicit I. Cor. XII, 15 apostolus 1ª Cor XII°, "quod non expedit, sed officit ut omne membrum corporis humani sit oculus". Quid igitur scit talis fratrifactor si dissolvit hunc ordinem, I. et perturbat rem publicam? Item cum ex principio religionis quilibet debet privatum bonum contempnere et bonum commune attendere, patet quod quilibet fratrifactor debet mensurari hac regula; sed quis scit, si naturalis complexio vel inpulsus spiritus in illo quem obligat plus sit, ut sit frater vel religiosus alterius ordinis exproprietarii vel possessionati? Ymo si B 58[b] vivat apostolicam vitam | in seculo, cum notum sit, quod tales seculares sunt multis claustralibus meliores? Cum igitur talis fratrifactor nescit quod bonum est deo plus complacens vel utilius sancte ecclesie, videtur quod presumptiva dei temptacio foret sic facere talem fratrem.

All cannot be evangelists or friars. Some must be laymen, some of different sects. The whole body, as the apostle says, cannot be the eye. And does this friar-maker know if he will not destroy the whole order? Does he know if the divine inspiration will lead the man whom he wishes to influence rather into his order than into any other? And if he should lead an apostolic life in the world, would he not be better there?

Unde quidam pueri dicuntur sagaciter respondere temptantibus, quod vellent libenter esse religiosi illius A 47[d] ordinis, quem | deus plus approbat et qui foret eis plus competens; cum ignorando veritatem in isto, peccarent graviter utrimque. Si enim hoc movet, "id foret

2. esse *deest* E. 3. prudenter ABCDE. 4. quo CD. 7. hoc *deest* F; *ib.* undique multum BEF. 12. et *deest* E. 11. reprobare F. 15. solucionem B; *ib.* Christi *deest* EF. 19. sufficit E. 24. privatum *pro* commune C; commune Ecclesie E. 25. quid CE; *ib.* scit *deest* E. 32. vel utilius *deest* CD; utile F. 33. habere E. 35. dicunt E. 37. plus *deest* E. 39. utrumque C.

Should anyone think: — "This would be more useful to me and my Order: therefore I will try to bring it about", he would be among those who seek their own, not Christ's interest.

michi et ordini meo utilius, ideo est michi optacius", statim sic motus dicitur esse in capitulo illorum omnium, qui querunt que sua sunt et non domini Jesu Christi. [Philip. II, 21] Quod dampnat apostolus, Ad Philipp. II°, et per consequens talis non ex caritate sed invidia faceret talem fratrem; cum 1^{a} Cor. XIII dicit apostolus, quod [I. Cor. XIII, 5] "caritas non querit que sua sunt." Et servata ista caritatis regula, videtur quod nullus unius ordinis procuraret personam, vel lucrum suo ordini, antequam nosceret hoc prodesse et non esse ad deterioracionem cuiuscunque ecclesie. Et hec est racio quare Christus et apostoli contentati sunt de religione communi nulli contraria. Et apostolus propter securitatem religionis cupit omnes alios vivere ut se ipsum, ut dicitur 1^{a} Cor. VII. [I. Cor. VII, 7]

The universal good is set aside by the sects, when each seeks after a particular good. We ought therefore to lay aside all these particular religions. The rule of Augustine was opposed to neither layman nor clerk; there is no contrary to the general idea of Order, but only to their particular forms. That is why ownership always savours of sin.

Secte igitur faciunt illud bonum Christi commune dimitti, cum unum utile uni privato ordini sit alteri displicens et repugnans. Abiciamus igitur religiones et utilitates privatas, quia II^{a} Petr. II° [II. Petr. II, 1] "fuerunt vero et pseudo prophete in populo, sicut et in nobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perdicionis, et eum qui emit eos Dominum negant, superducentes sibi celerem perdicionem." | Regula, inquam, Augustini [B 58^{c}] non fuit clerico vel layco alicui contraria, sed prodessens; | ymo sicut substancie nichil est contrarium se- [A 48^{a}] cundum logicos, sed qualitati, ita videtur generalem ordinem nulli esse contrarium, sed privatum; qui signa et speciem inutiliter substituit tanquam ordini Christiano necessaria. Et hec racio quare civilis proprietas inseparabiliter sapit peccatum; nec homo debet sine peccato quicquam facere, nisi de quanto est certus ipsum prodesse toti ecclesie: ut sunt opera virtutum et alia privata, ad que est instinctus spiritus consulentis.

Suppose that four friars, one of each of the four orders, intend to make some one a member of their order. Their intentions ought all to be for the good of the Church. Now they would result in the same man belonging at once to four orders.

Unde solebam ponere quod 4^{or} fratres 4^{or} ordinum pro simul intendant facere quemquam fratrem sui ordinis; et signatis illis 4^{or} intencionibus, non eis est fingendum, quare una earum foret licita quin per idem et quelibet; et per consequens finis proximus ab eis intentus foret utilis ecclesie; et sic, quod eadem simplex persona sit simul frater istorum ordinum: quod constat esse inpossibile, nisi inter istos ordines non

3. non que BEF; *ib.* domini nostri EF. 4. ad *deest* E. 5. facit E; facit et F. 7. privata E. 7, 8. caritate E. 10. esse ad *deest* ABCD. 11. est *deest* DEF. 13. The MS. E goes no further. 14. sic dicitur *pro* ut dicitur F. 18. 2 dicitur CD. 19. vobis. 32. instructus B.

foret talis distinccio. Nec secundum condicionatam volicionem, subintelligendo, ut dicit beatus Jacobus, Jac. IV, 15 "si deus voluerit," procederent licite sic ad opus, quia sic possent licite quodcunque opus nephandum committere. Ideo videtur temerarium cuiquam non inspirato consulere ad statum privatum vel talem accipere; sed in religione communi et per se operum, virtutum, quiescere. Et patet quam temera est apostasia in faciendo fratres, non assistente spiritu consulente. Et tantum dictum sit de apostasia ex nutu oculi obliquantis a regula A 48[b] | caritatis.

This is not justified because they say they submit to God's will.

K. B 58[d] Quantum ad quartam apostasiam fratrum que potest in isto verbo intelligi, "terit pede," patet quod | Joh. XIII, 10 per pedem intelligitur affeccio in scriptura ut Joh. XIII. "Qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet." Sic igitur affeccio inordinata quam fratres habent ad temporalia causat in eis apostasiam multiplicem, et ydolatriam. I. Tim. VI, 10 Ideo dicit apostolus, 1ª Thim. VI°, quod "radix omnium malorum est cupiditas"; potest eciam in fratribus esse hec ydolatria ex defectu mendicandi, ex defectu utendi, et ex defectu retinendi; licet autem mendicare sit licitum, tamen mendicare inordinate facit apostatas. Potest enim mendicacio esse tam clamorose et inportune continuata quod eius superfluitas sit detestabilis et inverecunda. Apostoli autem innuitive ad magnam indigenciam mendicarunt; sed necesse est fratres, propter irreligiosum globum eorum atque superfluum, indebite mendicare. Ideo causa huius peccati debet primo precidi; quod perfecte fiet, si pure viverent apostolice seiunctis suis tradicionibus adinventis. Tunc enim foret comunitas eorum perfeccior quam est modo. Ideo non mirum, si discrasia in morum principio, causat peccatum patencius consequenter. Mendicant autem fratres pro communitate cuius unum membrum habet naves in mari, thesaurum iocalium atque pecuniam, que foret communitati diu sufficiens. Quomodo igitur non debet subtrahi a tali communitate elemosina pro consensu nefando? Et eadem est consideracio de fratribus, qui episcopantur et fiunt A 48[c] mundo | divites, dum debent habere omnia in communi.

4[th] mark of apostasy: "beating with the foot". 'The foot' in Scripture language means the affections. Thus the inordinate affection which friars have towards temporal things causes apostasy among them. Their begging attacked. *Its First defect:* they beg when they are not in want. To beg is indeed not illicit; but he who begs to excess becomes an apostate. Mendicancy, clamorous, continual, shameless, is not that of the Apostles. The cause of this can be destroyed only by an Apostolic life. They beg for a community that has ships and jewels, and enough money for many years. Ought not alms to be refused to such?

7. virtutum *deest* CD. 8. quod temeraria B. 12. autem ad F. 14. ut patet B. 19. est *deest* F. 20, 21. ex defectu — retinendi *deest* B. 24, 25. delectabilis ABCDF. 29. fieret BCD. 30. apostolici A; *ib.* relictis F. 32. distrasia ABD. 35. caritate CD. 35. sed D. 38. est *deest* F.

Its second defect: they take from poor people, and render them poorer still. *Its third defect:* the ungodliness of their intention: they spend in luxuries the substance of Christ's poor. Though the community be poorly fed, yet the chiefs are not. But worse than all is the superfluity of their ornaments and unnecessary houses. They are said to have palaces and extravagant churches.

Et sic est secundus defectus mendicacionis fratrum, dum mendicant a paupere populo laicali plus indigo per mendacia et multiplices artes | demonii; ut patet (B 59a) inferius. Et tercio, deficit mendicacio propter irreligiositatem finis intenti; ut quando in vescibilibus et ornamentis et domibus sumptuosis terunt irreligiose magnam pauperum Christi substanciam; licet autem communitas fratrum parce vescatur, capitanei tamen ut graduati et mendici validi laute vivunt, ut dicitur esse in eorum incepcionibus et privatis conviviis. Sed istorum maliciam superat sumptuosa et superflua ornamenta cum domibus excessivis. Illi enim qui debent de religione primeva habere tuguria abiecta vel casulas et oratoria, ad memorandum Christum pauperem, que concordent pauperibus qui doceant mundi contemptum et quod "non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus." (Hebr. XIII, 14) Illi, inquam, dicuntur habere aulas et domos regias ac excessivas basilicas in quantitate, in subtilitate et sumptuositate ac ornamenta mundo splendencia; per hec, inquam, cultus dei contempnitur, locus a laycis religiosis despicitur et fratrum mundialis affeccio reseratur.

Excuses: 1st It is for the glory of God. 2nd Rich men have given them money on purpose for these adornments. 3rd Such churches will last longer. This only proves that their first spirit slumbers; that they care more for the god of this world than for Christ, or His love. The perfect mean is the example of Christ. Devout persons and clergymen of the order who consent to these abuses are blamable.

Et quomodocunque glozaverint, quod hoc est ad honorem dei exigentis in servis suis cultum honorificum, quod mundo divites hoc requirunt, | qui dant illis (A 48d) ad hoc subsidium, vel quod hoc est utilius, quia diucius permansivum. Quotquot autem sunt huiusmodi excusaciones in peccatis, indicant quod primeva religio est sopita, dum plus intenditur placere populo adulterinis aspectibus, quam ut mundum lugeant abiectis in actibus, plus alludere eis mundanis applausibus quam edificare eos virtutibus. Et omnino | comenta dyaboli (B 59b) concludunt fratri taliter excusanti, quod deus huius seculi et favor mundi plus appreciatur ab eis, quam dominus virtutum vel ex imitacione Christi pauperis amor dei. Et patet apostasia in defectu multiplici (L.) mendicandi. Medium enim virtuosum, non mundi vel milonis, sed medie persone divine mundo pauperis, est captandum. Et omnino reprobandi sunt devoti et subtiles clerici istorum ordinum, qui non resistunt sed favent fratribus per consensum. Illi autem sunt magis

1. mendicantium F. 2. indigno B; indigente F. 4. defecit mendacio B. 8. per se ACD; communiter parce F. 14. qui B. 19. in *pro* et F. 27, 28. excusaciones tales F. 29. attenditur B. 30. virtutibus *pro* in actibus F. 34. appreciantur B.

inimici domestici; nec dubium quin ista irreligiosa mendicacio inducit bonorum dei consumpcionem illicitam.

Et specialiter in isto quod omnes hii ordines et fratres singuli debent omnia habere in communi. Sic enim habuit primitiva ecclesia quo ad sexum, etatem, et genus patrie differens; ergo multo magis fratres, quos non distingwit nisi privata religio. Apostoli quidem et episcopi facti per ipsos habuerunt omnia in communi, sicut debent habere episcopi et seculares
A 49^{a} clerici, ut patet 1^{a} questione 2^{a} per multa capitula |: itaque cur non fratres? Item, fratres habent super suis usibilibus pure dominium ewangelicum, non civile; sed quo ad illud omnes boni fratres vel Christiani sunt pares. Igitur debent parificari in usibus moderatis. Suppono autem, quod dominium eorum distingwitur ab usu; quomodo igitur negabit habundans in vescibilibus vel aliis usualibus fratri eiusdem ordinis eciam alienigene vel fratri alterius ordinis tam indigo et tam digno? Revera videtur esse dei iniuria et personarum accepcio. Item, fratres iuste vendicant a clero seculari
B 59^{c} et populo domicilium | et vescibilia quando egent; sed maior undique debet esse communicacio fratrum quorumcunque adinvicem; igitur illi sufficientes debent ministrare in istis fratribus quibuscunque egentibus. Nec tollit particularitas ordinis vel humana institucio hoc vinculum caritatis; nisi forte fingantur fratres al-
Gal. V, terius ordinis indigniores suffragari de alienis fratribus;
20, 21 et econtra. Cum apostolus ad Gal. V^{to} coniungit sectas atque invidias, illud, inquam, accusat quod tradicio religionis invente sit contra regulas caritatis.

These orders ought to have all things in common among themselves. Thus it was in the Primitive Church, though the differences were much greater, but the friars are only distinguished by their particular order.

Can a friar who has in abundance food &c., deny anything he has to another friar who is in want?

Friars rightly ask of the people food and lodging; but their needy brethren have more rights on them than they on the people.

Nec excusat parcitas limitata hiis fratribus, quia
Tob. IV, 8, 9 (secundum doctrinam Thobie IV^{to}) proporcionabiliter ad possessionem debet possessor egenis tribuere; quia
A 49^{b} aliter evidencius pauper secula | ris, a quo fratres mendicant, diceret eis quod vix habet sufficienciam sibi et sue familie. Et specialiter, cum licet seculari
Matth. facere provisiones annales, sed fratres (secundum evan-
VI, 34 gelium Matthaei VI^{to}) non debent pro crastino providere.

One bad excuse is the poverty required of all friars.

We must all give to the poor according to our ability.

7. differens *deest omnes MSS.* 18. vel *pro* eciam F. 19. vel *deest* F. 19, 20. tam indigno et tam indiguo B; et tam indigno ACD. 27. fingatur ACD. 28. indigniori F. 30. quod *deest* D.

11. Decr. Grat. C^{a} I. quaest. II. passim.

Nec obest cunctis ordinibus fratrum habere omnia in communi, cum totum genus cleri debet sic habere, superiores in dies ad moderatam vite mensuram et inferiores superhabundans temporalium provide ministrando.

In hope of gain, they treat the rich to luxuries, which they deny to their own brethren.

Unde accusaret fratres non modicum, quod conferant propter retribucionem temporalem mundi divitibus eciam ministrallis refocillacionem lautam in vescibilibus et domicilio et negent hoc fratribus et iustis aliis plus egenis.

Another bad excuse: Friars of different orders may not live together, or all distinctions of orders would be destroyed.

Sed contra istud instatur per hoc quod iuxta istam sentenciam liceret fratri unius ordinis cohabitare et vesci cum fratre alieni ordinis, eciam in presencia proprii ordinis plus indigentis: consequens apostaticum et distinccionis destructivum. Hic videtur, quod sic arguens legeret factum apostoli | (ad Gal. II°) et tunc concederet conclusionem, nedum tanquam catholicam, sed a divisione sectarum irreligiose inductam ad unitatem ewangelicam reductivam; sic quod omnes ordines fratrum sint unus ordo. M. B 59[d] Gal. II, 4

But what harm would there be in that?

Licet autem tam fratres quam alii cognoscant istam sentenciam, tamen taciturnitate consensus dampnabiliter permittunt tradiciones humanas superexcrescere regulas caritatis.

We come to absurd conclusions. 1[st] by giving a new signification to an old word: as, "Socrates (meaning an individual) tells a falsehood"; 2[nd] by raising a mere human custom into divine right; as in the case of slavery; and 3[rd] when there is a hypothesis implying contradiction. Now here, 1[st] a new sense is given to 'religion'.

Sicut enim insolubile | aput logicos tribus modis suboritur; primo modo, quando dimissa significacione recta communi antiqua significacioni novelle intenditur: ut patet in ista: "*Sor dicit falsum*". Secundo modo, quando solemnisatur tradicio humana ac si per se faceret ius ut deus, sicut patet de obediencia servorum post condicionem communem adiectam; et tercio modo quando contradiccio tacite innuitur; ut patet in casu de pertransicione pontis. Sic peccatum insolubiliter redarguit eos qui volunt ipsi intendere: primo ex vi vocis *professionis private*, dimissa communi religione antiqua, ut patet, in religione novella, secundo humane legis institucio ac si ipsa per se iustificet, ut patet in eleccionibus, eciam de papa; et tercio, in omni peccato seducitur peccator putans bonum quod A 49[c]

3. iudices *pro* in dies F. 13. indigentibus B. 14. distinccionis ordinum CDF; egentis F. 17. ad missionem B; ib. inducta CD. 21. assensuš B; ib. dampnabili BF. 25. invente novelle BF. 26. isto B. 27. ac per se CD. 28. de *deest* F. 30. tacenter F. 35. confusio vel conficcio *pro* institucio ABCD.

26. *Sor*, or *Sortes*. is short for *Socrates*, a name very much employed by medieval logicians for any individual whatever.

officit, et tamen insolubiliter admittenti casus peccati concluditur. Theologi igitur debent radicitus casus istos detegere, ne fundamentum falsum exuperet veritatem. In tercio vero membro huius blasfemie patet quod fratres ydolatre reservant sibi temporalia, innuendo se in ipsis plus confidere quam in deo. Et tantum hic de 4ª blasfemia.

2nd Human is confounded with divine law, and 3rd right and wrong are supposed identical.

5ta vero blasfemia notatur in 5to verbo: "digito loquitur", non intelligendo quod religiosi claustrales loquntur ludicra cum adinvencionibus signorum, post B 60ª iniunctum silencium, sed intelligendo | per "digitum" potestatem agendi, modo quo loquitur scriptura (Exod. VIII). Ex. VIII, 19 A 40ª "Digitus dei est hic": hoc est, | potestas singulariter operandi. Sic, inquam, pseudofratres blasfemant in potestate spirituali presbiteri pro pecunia de simplicibus acquirenda. Potest autem blasphemia fratrum in ista materia potestative loquencium in tria dividi. Primo menciendo de absolucione a pena et a culpa, vel de indulgenciis, aut aliis ficticiis machinatis. Et de isto expeditum est alibi. Nam periculum est in prelatis qui ultra fundamentum scripture blasfeme magnificant digitum suum in isto; periculum eciam est in fratribus N. qui istam blasfemiam excitant et defendunt; et tercio, periculum est in simplicibus qui infideliter confidunt et laborant in talibus. Fides, inquam, ortodoxa docet quod a Christo secundum meritum recipiet contritus absolucionem vel indulgenciam, cui prelatorum nostrorum concessio est inpertinens vel repugnans. Impertinens dico, quia mereatur homo et conteratur aput deum quantumcunque abscondite, et secundum hoc habebit a deo tantam indulgenciam, sicut si cum hoc habuerit a papa mille bullas. Quod si a raro contingentibus, contricio et devocio et meritum hominis provocentur per hoc quod dat populo vel prelato elemosinam vel laborat non infideliter circa illam, tunc tale ministerium promovet ut habeat de tanto a deo indulgenciam ampliorem. Et dico indulgencias tales repugnare quandoque, quia sepe vane sperando in frivolis, spes que A 50ª foret unita in Christo dispergitur et cum labore inutili | stultus consumitur; sic quod raro vel nunquam talis remissio vel indulgencia fit ad bonum.

5th mark of apostasy: "speaking with the finger".
By the finger is meant the *power of acting*, as in Scripture: "The *finger* of God" is here.
First blasphemy: concerning indulgences, absolution, &c.
Danger to prelates who exaggerate their power in this matter.
Danger to friars who defend them.
Danger to simple persons who trust in them.
Absolution given by a prelate is:
1st Immaterial: Let a man repent, and that will be enough. If alms-giving &c., increase his devotion, then God will grant him indulgence; if not, not.
2nd Hurtful: Often, by putting trust in vain things, hope in Christ is diminished.

21. blasfeme CF. 24. et inutiliter BF. 34 quod – elemosinam vel *deest* B. 36. a deo de tanto C.

Second blasphemy: They magnify those of their functions which savour of lucre; such as masses, penances and funerals.

Secundo loquitur super digito magnificando sua sacramenta que | lucrum sapiunt, ut celebraciones peniten- [B 60ᵇ] cias et sepulturas, que ex sanctitate ordinis habent robur; et istam materiam egregie tractavit sanctus Richardus episcopus Ardmacanus, et noverunt rectores et sacerdotes rurales quomodo per istam machinam sua stipendia subdole subtrahuntur.

Third blasphemy: They get confederates among laymen by their confraternities and Third-Orders. So they make broad their phylacteries, etc.

Et tercio loquitur super digito suo, non dei, subtilius confederando sibi laycos conventiculis fraudulentis spargendo in huiusmodi testificacionem litteras fraternitatis; sic quod instar Phariseorum dilatant philateria et magnificant fimbrias, ut dicit Christus Matth. XXIII. [Matth. XXIII, 5] Sicut enim philateria erant carthule in quibus Phariseorum magistralia sunt inscripta, sic littere tales quo ad numerum et pretensionem spiritualis suffragii dilatantur, et ultra Phariseos ad seduccionem populi sunt signate.

The phylacteries signify letters of fraternity. They magnify their fringes, in that they put the meanest friar, above any Saint, however great, if not of the Order.

Magnificant autem fimbrias, quia in colore et figura vestimentorum suorum ponunt tantam vim numinis, quod abiectissimum fratrem, servitorem, vel colligatum tanquam fimbriam suo ordini in sanctitate et religione magnificant ultra quemcunque sanctum qui fuerit inpertinens secte sue. Et ita ut symoniace predicant statim post sermonem ad hoc aptatum colligendo pecuniam vel sibi equivalens, sic vendunt talem fraternitatem pro annuo redditu et confederacione fraternitatis illicita modis subdolis de | fendenda. [A 50ᵇ]

A convincing proof that all this is done for lucre, is: take away the hope of gain, and their spiritual help is withdrawn; concealed simony.

Causa autem talium facta pro temporali lucro ex hoc convincitur, quod, subtrahendo in re et spe hoc lucrum, subtrahitur hoc simulatum spirituale suffragium et patet subdola symonia. Patet eciam racione multiplici blas-

1. sub AB. 8. Sed *pro* et F. 21. quantumcunque B. 25. fraternitatem spiritualem CEF; sic per talem fraternitatem spiritualem pro B.

5. Richard Fitz Ralph (1347) two or three of whose works, enumerated by Ware, have been printed, and whose tract "De Pauperie Salvatoris" is now being published by the Wyclif Society, was neither beatified nor canonised, except by the Wyclifites. See S.E.W. (Arnold) III., 281. Engl. W. of W., p. 128, and note as to his miracles on p. 507. The only 'Beatus' of that name was Richard, abbot of Saint-Vannes de Verdun (1004); the only saint, Saint Richard, bishop of Chichester (1244). 13. Letters of admission to the Third-Order. Silvera (opuscul. 38) assigns the date 1221 to the first foundation of a Third-Order, by St. Francis of Assisi.

femia; primo, in hoc quod magnificant infideliter et infundabiliter signa sua; secundo, in hoc quod fingunt ex cultu signorum per se adesse meritum fratrifacto; et B 60c tercio, in hoc quod promittunt et vendunt | participium sui meriti, quod deo est proprium: et hoc pro comodo temporali. Talia, inquam, conventicula possent faciliter perturbare rempublicam ex comparacionibus dignitatum; talis autem stultus cognosceret quod vix aut minus habet ipse cum tota secta sua scintillam meriti ad beatitudinem consequendam. Consideret secundo, quod deus dividet dignis suis de communione meriti sine taxacione merentis et sic propter presumpcionem istam blasfemam fit indignus, et quilibet sibi consenciens, ut sibi vel alii mereatur. Magnificemus itaque fideliter istum articulum fidei, communionem sanctorum, quod secundum distribucionem deo propriam consequitur dignitatem et meritum quo ad deum.

These foolish men ought to know: I. that their sect has no merit that can win bliss; II. that God gives His deserving servants communion in all merits without making them pay; and that such presumption renders them undeserving, as well as those who consent to sharing their merits with them.

O. Sed ad colorandum istud obicitur: Quilibet potest quicquid suum est vendere et donare; meritum igitur suum potest frater donare, sic quod donatarius faciat recompensam. Ad istud argumentum Symonis respondetur negando assertum, quia meritum hominis est sic in manu dei et condicione connexum, quod repugnat eius translacionem fieri tali pacto: de quo alibi.

Objections: 1st To give away or sell one's own, i. e. merit, is lawful. *Answer:* merit cannot be dealt with thus.

A 50c Secundo, obicitur per hoc | quod ex fide unus potest mereri alteri; nec repugnat isti merito quod ipsum participans gratis retribuat elemosinam corporalem; Gal. VI, 6 igitur factum tale est licitum. Unde ad Gal. VI° mandat apostolus "Communicet autem is qui cathechizatur verbo ei qui se cathechizat in omnibus bonis". Nam propter talem retribucionem promerens libencius mereretur. Nec aliter quisquam conduceret oratores. Hic dicitur, quod verum assumitur et verum annectitur, sed istis non pertinet, quod quis vendat meritum expresse vel tacite. Ideo nimirum contractus talis vel paccio est deo odibilis. Oportet igitur notare primo, quod opus sit de genere eorum que deus instituit ad edificacionem ecclesie; oportet secundo notare quod B 60d modus operandi sit licitus; | et oportet tercio pensare quod occasio data de fratris scandalo subtrahatur.

2nd To share one's merit with another is allowable; so is to give corporal alms: now this is all that takes place.

Answer: The conclusion: *This is all that takes place*, is false. For there is a compact, either tacit or express: and *that* is illicit.

5. deo *deest* B. 9 sanctificata *pro* sua scintillam F. 10. consideraret F. 14. itaque *deest* F. 15. fide C; *ib.* communione C. 16. domini B; *ib.* censetur. 18. tolerandum F; *ib.* istum articulum obicitur sic B. 20. donatorius C. 22. assumptum BF. 24. eius translacioni tali fieri B. 30. se *deest* F. 32. Hic verum F.

These 'letters of fraternity' are condemned by Scripture. And the sale of merit has no excuse. The instance of money given to 'oratory-priests' does not bear on the point: there is in that case a fixed amount of bodily labour and of stipend. But here grace — i. e. God — is sold.

Talis autem cartha fraternitatis non exemplatur in scriptura, sed multipliciter innuitur reprobata tanquam superflua et nociva; modus autem tacite vendendi meritum caret colore, cum nec sit subiectum potestati fratris, quod opus suum sit meritum, nec quod alter merito suo supposito ipso participet. Ideo secus est de isto et de conduccione presbiteri vel oratoris, quia ibidem labor corporalis et stipendium ad hoc necessarium limitatur. Hic autem gracia — et sic deus — vendi presumitur, quod est omnino inordinatum, cum deus licet sit hominis, tamen vendi non potest cum non potest ab homine singulariter possideri, cum oportet ipsum dominative et equivoce haberi | a qualibet creatura; tota autem ecclesia vendi potest, cum dicitur 1[a] Cor. VI[o]: Precio magno empti estis". Homo eciam potest vendere animam suam dyabolo, ymo se ipsum in servum civilem, sed deus cum gracia et aliis sibi propriis caret racione emibilis. Regnum tamen celorum a deo venditur et a servo suo emitur secundum racionem, qua a deo distingwitur: et sic wult apostolus eum qui cathecizatur (hoc est, in fide instruitur) communicare cum informante tam bonis corporalibus quam spiritualibus: quod fit si virtuose ministrat ei temporalia necessaria ad hoc opus, ut docet apostolus (1[a] Cor. IX). Quod si alter eorum errat ex affeccione singulari in cambio, tunc non communicat in omnibus bonis. Ideo statim annectit apostolus: "Nolite errare, deus non irridetur, que enim seminaverit homo, hec et metet"; quasi diceret: contractus talis non est utilis coram deo; quia ut paulo ante dicit, "unusquisque onus suum portabit." Ideo stultum est hominem mercari cum alienis peccatis vel | obligari ut pro peccatis alterius ex hoc libere respondeat coram deo. Quamvis autem omnes dampnandi et specialiter prelati respondebunt pro peccatis suis et aliis, tamen correspondenter quo ad suum demeritum, ut dicit apostolus, dampnabuntur.

A 50[d]

The Church is 'bought with a great price': a man can sell himself to the devil, and to the state too, as a slave; but God, His grace, &c. *cannot be possessed exclusively* and are thus unbuyable. St. Paul wishes the spiritual teachers to receive enough to support them.

I. Cor. IV, 20

I. Cor. IX, 13, 14

It is foolish to make oneself answerable for another's sins, as the Friars do; for the reprobate, though they have to answer for other people, are only punished for their own misdeeds.

B 61[a]

III. If money can be given to oratory priests on account of

P. Sed tercio instatur ad colorandum hoc factum per hoc quod licet conducere eciam oratores pro opere corporali; licet igitur dare fratribus ut annuatim et specialiter post mortem hominis notificatam fratribus

5. meritorium BF. 11. sit *deest* ABCD; *ib.* non potest *deest* C. 12. tamen C. 17. deo F. 21. cathezizatur C. 23. fit *deest* C. 24, 25. Apostolus 1[a] *deest* F. 28. enim *deest* F. 31. homini B. 32. per peccatum AB. 33. libere A; *ib.* respondens B. 37. colorando B; colendum F. 40. notificatum B.

solempnisent eius exequias: Pro tali igitur labore cor- A 51a porali | possunt accipere pecuniam gratis datam. Hic dicitur quod in istis factis sunt tot palliaciones dyaboli, quod infinitis modis sophisticari potest symoniace scola sua. Talis igitur palliator caveret primo ne det scandalum erroris fratri suo, dicendo sibi quod non temere confidat in alieno merito sed ex vi communionis sanctorum, proporcionabiliter ut ipse se ipsum dignificat per graciam prevenientem, sic communicabit et meritis tocius ecclesie. Sic quod est in potestate dei et super potestatem fratris, ut alius communicet secum in merito; et carthe ac talia sacramenta inducta sunt nedum inpertinencia sed blasfeme inhabilitantes undique ad merendum.

their bodily labour, the same may be offered to Friars; for instance, to celebrate funeral rites. *Answer:* Before all things, we must take care not to be stumbling-blocks to our brethren.

Et preter hec sunt multe conspiraciones illicite in contractu abscondito; ideo odiunt fratres, ut in lucem veniant, cum favor unius secte contrariatur alteri. Si igitur placet benefacere istis sectis, tribuatur eis absolute seorsum elemosina, ut dissolvantur colligaciones inpietatis et reducantur ad perfeccionem religionis primeve. Sic enim habebuntur utilius oratores, et fient pro illis multa milia missarum, vel aliud opus preponderans ubi iam utrimque tollitur communicacio in B 61b merendo. Servet, inquam, homo | legem Christi et zelet pro ea, destruendo novitates infundabiles, que surrepunt, et habebit totam ecclesiam multiplicius, efficacius, et affectuosius oratricem. Unde ista infidelis ymaginacio de adiutorio merendi, propter similitudinem adiutorii corporalis, excecat simplices per yppocritas seducentes: et tantum hic de ista apostasia.

There are many secret workings in these understood bargains which the Friars do not wish to come to the light; sect conspiring against sect, &c. It were better to give alms to each separately, if at all, to avoid such intrigues. All this harm proceeds from false analogies with which simpletons are deceived by hypocrites.

Q. Sexta et septima includuntur in hiis verbis: "pravo corde machinatur malum et omni tempore iurgia seminat." Radix autem communionis huius apostasie est inordinata machinacio proprietaria intellectus. Machinatur enim, quid foret sibi vel persone agregate monstruose, hoc est toti secte sue, utilius; et dimissa lege dei ac utilitate communi ecclesie illud studiose prosequitur. Nec dubium quin ista sit prava intencio, quia machinatur perficere malum culpe; nichil enim deo communi, preponderanti bona communia, magis contrarium, quam, illo bono contempto, privato et pla-

Last marks of apostasy: evil intrigues and sowing of quarrels. The root of this: that they only consider the advantage of their sect.

This intention is most perverse.

13. blasphemie F; *ib.* inhabitantes B. 18, 19. abscondite; absolute *in marg.* F. 19. collaciones F. 39. enim est F.

A sect sins more grievously by covetousness and worldliness than the same number of separate individuals. For sin, as fire, does the more harm in proportion as it is more concentrated.

cenciori comodo plus inniti. Sicut enim persona agregata, que est secta religionis possessionate, peccat gravius intensive et extensive in avaricia et moribus mundanis quam totidem persone simplices disperse, quarum quelibet sit nimis mundo dedita, sic est de persona secte exproprietarie in comparacione ad tot heremitas ypocritas, quia culpa more ignis nocet intensius cum fuerit congregata. Ut notemus unum cenobium monachorum, quod excessive in persona propria, in sumptuosa ac superflua familia, et adiacente extra comitivam, consumit mundialiter bona pauperum; et notemus totidem rectores quorum quilibet inordinate consumit bona pauperum: et constat quod | nullus eorum per B 61[c]
se tenet tam inordinatam | et excessivam domum tot A 51[c]
peccatis implicitam. Cum igitur omnes et singuli monachi perpetrant totum peccatum id ex consensu nephario, dum placet eis, et pompant de opere, vel saltem non sufficienter corripiunt nec recedunt, patet quod quilibet illorum monachorum peccat intensius et diffusius quo ad seculum, quam aliquis talis rector. Et hinc credo spiritum sanctum movisse primo sanctos monachos vivere instar baptiste vitam solitariam sive monasticam. Sic enim vixit Ieronimus et multi sancti patres ante tempus sancti Benedicti. Communitas enim prona ad mundum machinatur peius et exequitur forcius malum culpe, quam faceret una persona simplex et per se posita.

Both monks and rectors waste the goods of the poor; but the monks are worse, each consenting to the sin of all. For that reason the first monks lived alone, like John Baptist.

Objection: Christ lived, with His Disciples; but He was more perfect than John Baptist. *Answer:* Christ knew how to choose the few whom He knew to be fit. And Christ instructed His disciples in the very best way, in order to ripen and disperse them afterwards in the world: Whereas our Abbots and Prelates do nothing of the sort.

Et si obicitur quod Christus qui vixit in communi R.
cum fratribus est perfeccior quam baptista, dicitur quod defectus talis similitudinis excecat plurimos; nam Christus scivit eligere paucos quos voluit; et scivit esse ad societatem talem ydoneos; prelati vero hodie hoc ignorant. Christus eciam scivit secundum optimum magisterium discipulos suos instruere et a viciis cohercere ut maturati spersim seminentur per mundum ad edificacionem ecclesie; abbates vero nostri, et alii prelati possessionati, in isto omniquaque deficiunt. Et tercio maxime, quia Christus voluit se et XII vivere tantum exproprietarie, quod nec habebant proprium domicilium, nec bona in communi vel propria ipsis secundum humanam prudenciam limitata; sed omnino

1. inmiti D. 5. minus ACD. 8. aggregata B. 16. illud BF. 27. et *deest* F. 28. dico *pro* quod F. 35. maturatim spassim CD; sparsim B.

A 51d contrarium est in conventibus monachorum. | Ideo respiciendo ad vitam modernam et vitam Christi collegii verecundarentur facere huiusmodi argumenta. Prius B 61d enim vixerunt sancti | vitam heremiticam, sed non ad perfeccionem apostolicam contigerunt; secundo vero collecti per beatum Benedictum vixerant minus sancte, sed servantes vitam exproprietariam et alias condiciones apostolicas maturarunt se sic in sanctitate quod ecclesie vicine gaudebant de illis habere episcopos. Sed tamquam magi pharaonis in tercio signo deficiunt, dum excessive quia symoniace appropriant sibi redditus et ecclesias; et tamquam corwus de archa egrediens invento cadavere sunt plus culpabiliter mundo dediti quam aliqui seculares. Et correspondenter in conventibus fratrum est malum multiplex aggravatum; nam tota secta machinatur media ad colorandum apostatas; et propter multitudinem acceleranter exequitur accumulando sibi indebite bona pauperum. Nec sufficit una simplex persona, eciam in causa iusta, prosequi contra illos; colligantur enim cum dominis et dominabus, cum blasfemia confessionis, cum liga adulacionis et cum participio ypocritice devocionis. Cum autem persona talis secte excedit personam simplicem in peccato tali, quo ad multiplicitatem, quo ad peccati gravitatem, et quo ad induracionem, ac omnia membra talis secte conparticipant ex consensu, patet quantum est periculum coniungi tali corpori. Si, inquam, candens invidia vel complacencia adulatoria fuerit in tali secta ad A 52a quamcunque | personam extrinsecam, dicitur quod intrinsecus corrodunt ut canes per verba detrahencia; extrinsecus denigrant ut fornax per machinamenta mendacia. Et ut pars eorum sit forcior, non est matrimonium, divorcium, vel alia mundialis causa, quin se B 62a intro | mittant, quasi rectores negocii tacite vel expresse.

S. Nec obest quod multi sunt sancti et subtiles clerici inter eos, quia Christus et apostoli ex generacione pessima processerunt; ymo inter infidelissimas sectas multi sancti proruperant. Exercicium igitur sciencie experimentalis plus viget inter dyabolos; et exercicium vir-

Christ and the twelve had no property: monks do not live so.

The first hermits were less perfect than the Apostles: the next group, under St. Benedict, still less; but so long as they lived without endowments they were good. But now they seize upon revenues and churches, and are worse than seculars.

So also of the Friars. No private person, be his cause ever so just, can stand against them; they use every influence to gain their point. How perilous to belong to such a body, when each member is responsible for all!

They backbite within the Order, and meddle without.

There are indeed, many Saints among them; but Christ and His disciples came from a perverse race:

10. defecerunt B. 16. coroborandum F. 27. cadens C. 31. machina B. 33. se *deest* CF.

39. This seems to allude to the charge of sorcery, more directly made elsewhere (see Buddensieg's Polemical Works of W., p. 700), to which the Friars' ardour for experimental science exposed them. See Brewer's preface to Monumenta Franciscana, XLIV, XLV.

Devils are cleverer than they in experimental science; and there are few exercises of virtue among them. When their saints and learned men are in despair of their hardness of heart, they fly from them; but if taken, are slain or imprisoned for life, as apostates. Their evil machinations are countless. They are said to be like wild geese: destroying the seed of faith, as geese destroy crops; fattening on sin as they in cold; babbling irreligiously, with gooselike screams.

tutum, corripiendo, parcum est in illis sectis. Quod si dicti sancti et subtiles eorum desperaverint propter maliciam induratam, prudenter aufugiunt; prudenter dico, quia aliter tamquam apostate occiduntur vel perpetuo carceri mancipantur. Nec est noticie in experte numerare machinaciones malas, que fiunt ex talibus apostatarum conventibus.

Unde quidam comparat eos aucis silvestribus, que congregantur gregaliter sine numero limitato, penetrant aerem volando ad modum trianguli, repente assunt segetes consumentes, in temporibus gelidis inpinguantur, et in aura placente vel dissona irregulariter formant voces. "Sic", inquit, "fratres contra naturam domesticorum fidei tanquam fere gregaliter congregantur, nec conversantur nisi subdole cum aucis domesticis, nec limitatur eorum conventibus numerus consonus | edificacioni ecclesie; secundum apostolum, 'penetrant domos' in simplicitate trianguli, dum bini primo penetrant cuius binarii, gravior persona primo penetrat et consequenter binario dat ingressum; ubi fuerit distribucio temporalium assunt prompte, non solum congregando semina corporalia, sed semen fidei dissipando; quando refrigescit caritas multorum cum fetore temporalium inpingwantur, ut dicit commune proverbium: A 52^b

Dum peccatum regnat
in secretis cameris | *bursa fratrum pregnat;* B 52^b

et demum irreligiose garriunt, tam in tempore prospero quam in adverso." In isto siquidem circulari numero ambulant predicti apostate, ad quos sermo iste dirigitur.

Wyclif appeals to his friends among the Friars, who are not apostates, to help him in detecting these bad men. He will be better able to support their attacks if helped. Who impugns the foregoing doctrine proves himself an apostate.

Ideo confido de bonis sociis, qui michi confidenter in causa dei astiterant, quod non sibi conscii usque in finem assistent, quia nichil illis et dictis apostatis; sed cum gaudio suscipient et confirmabunt deteccionem eorum, ut et caucius caveantur, et insultus eorum ex multorum iuvamine micius sufferantur. Nec videtur fratrem patencius posse se ostendere esse de dictis apostatis quam inpugnando vel se molestando contra dictam sentenciam. Boni itaque per dei graciam gratanter accipient istam sentenciam confirmantes; et malorum aliqui convertentur ad religionem Christi prime-

8. Comparant *omnes MSS.* 10. ad medium CD. 11. seges CD. 12. aurora F. 19. binarius B; *ib.* prima penetrant B; dant B. 23, 24. impingwatur ACD. 31. in *deest* ACD. 33. detencionem B. 34. et *deest* F. 35. micius *deest* D.

vam. Alii autem presciti in sua pertinacia dampnabuntur. Et tantum de sexta apostasia.

T. Quo ad septimam et ultimam, que exprimitur in [A 52c] hoc | verbo: "omni tempore iurgia seminat," notandum, quod proprium est apostatis seminare discordias. Si, inquam, tales apostate filii sathane seminant sic septemplicem apostasiam in populo, necessario iurgia et adversancie in republica pululabunt; ipsi enim, tam corporaliter quam spiritualiter, sedule seminant semen suum; et non deest dyabolus cum membris suis, qui foveat et ad pullulacionem accelerare faciat dictum semen. Cum enim ipsi sunt in se ipsis divisi, quia omnis apostata, sicut pater suus, est deo, toti mundo et sibi ipsi contrarius, patet quod ducendo populum tanquam patres spirituales, seminabunt discordiam; deus [B 62c] enim propter tales subtrahit graciam. |

Seventh mark of apostasy: "sowing quarrels". This is the characteristic of apostates. If they sow apostasy, quarrels and discord must spring therefrom. And the devil is there with his angels, ready to foster the seed they sow.

Unde signum est triplex huius fructus discordie, primo quod nedum una secta est alteri contraria, sed eadem secta eciam secundum modicam partem est contraria sibi ipsi. Iterum, quasi quilibet dominus secularis habet unum fratrem confessorem vel consiliarium, et cum domini nec machinantur nec exequuntur ea que pacis sunt, sed belli; et iustificaciones fratrum qui, licet bella in sermonibus suis palliant et tam publice quam private ipsa iustificant, satis indicant quod bellis consenciunt et ad ipsa excitant omissione vel opere. Aliter enim publicarent constanter pacem esse servandam, non obstante perdicione temporalium mundani honoris vel presentis vite, propter premium inde se[V.]quens. Tercio vero signum eiusdem est, quod a tem[A 52d]pore quo intro | ducti sunt fratres in ecclesia, invaluerunt iurgia et facta paci contraria: quod cum factis apostatarum indicat, quod ipsi non rogant efficaciter que pacis sunt, sed nocte et die quamdiu apostatant continue iurgia seminant. Nam iuxta Cestrensem (libr. 7, cap. 24) fratres predicatores inceperant iuxta annum domini 1200 sub Innocencio III° anno 6. Et post illos paulatim alii fratres inceperant; notantes vero cronicas possunt perpendere, quantum illo tempore turbabatur ecclesia, non solum inter seculares, sed inter sacerdotes, ut Romanos pontifices. Nec tunc incepit, sed tempore

A three-fold sign of this discord. 1st Each sect, while contrary to the others, is also divided within itself. 2nd Every warlike prince has one of these friars for his confessor; and they all excuse every war that takes place.

3rd Proof from history. Ever since their rise in the Church, there have been perpetual quarrels. In 1200, the Dominicans began; and the other friars soon after. Troubles in the Church especially on account of the Roman Pontiffs, have greatly increased since then.

7. inter *pro* necessario F. 14. patet *deest* F. 16. unitivam B; unitativam F. 35. Sestrensem ACD.

35. Higden's Polychronicon, l. VII, c. 33.

Sergii monachi, tempore Iuliani apostate. Et quando alie introducte sunt, factum est per eos magnum scisma et sectarum divisio in ecclesia militante. Nec dubium quin apostasia a symplici religione quam Christus

The Church should be told that the endowment of the clergy and the formation of particular sects is the cause of all these evils. No matter that good is done by them; if it were otherwise, no one would be deceived.

instituit, sit in causa. Certissimum | itaque et notifican- B 62[d]
dum est ecclesie, quod causa omnium istorum est contra religionem Christi cleri dotacio et sectarum privatarum, in quibus seminantur apostate, multiplicacio. Nec obest quod per illas sectas eveniunt ecclesie multa bona, quia nisi dyabolus sophistarum maximus in scola sua comisceat vera falsis et bona malis, facta sua non haberent apparenciam credulitatis; et sic nullos vel paucos seduceret. Et hec racio quare sic immiscent sophistice bona malis.

If any ask: How can it be known that they do more harm than good? The answer is: By faith and God's grace.

Quod si queratur quomodo possunt ista discerni, cum
multi | et magni capitales ecclesie sunt in istis con- A 53[a]
trarii; dicitur quod fide, et gracia potuerunt hec discerni. Nam in fide scripture, prescindendo omnes adinvenciones apocrifas, quiescit fidelis; in ipsa autem plane patet forma qua Christus sacerdotes suos instituit; a qua declinando necesse est corpus ecclesie a religione Christi ruere. Ipsa enim tam sapienter et tam prudenter est posita, quod sub pena maximi anathematis non

Some members of religious orders Wyclif calls his dearest sons; those are by no means apostates. They observe Christ's religion, and despise human observances.

licet illam diminuere vel augere. Unde illi quos in religionibus exproprietariis vocavi filios karissimos, non sunt de dictis apostaticis; sed excelenter observantes illud bonum religionis Christi, quod dyabolus immiscuit cum tradicionibus adinventis, ut parvipendentes aut contempnentes tradiciones illas nisi de quanto subministrant atque facilitant ad observanciam legis dei; et hii cavent tamquam venenum quod plus ponderent ritus adiectos quam legem dei et plus zelent pro statu private secte quam pro bono publico; quia tunc indubie forent apostate quos descripsi.

Objection against the whole doctrine of sevenfold apostasy: That it is not founded on Scripture, but is a wresting of God's word.

Sed obicitur quod dicta sentencia de apostasia septemplici non est sentencia de fide scripture spiritus
sancti, sed heretice ficta pocius | et extorta. Hic dici- B 63[a]
tur, quod sive fratres, sive papa vel angelus de celo perfecerit opus nefandum, in ista scriptura septemplici

1. Sergei F; *ib.* Iuliane C. 2. alie sexte F. 4. quin *deest* ABCD. 6. causa istorum omnium malorum B. 8. apostatate D. 12. crudelitatis F. 13. immiscet ACDF. 15. Quod — discerni *deest* F. 17. quod in F; *ib.* potuerunt ABF; *ib.* hoc B. 26. apostaticis AF. 27. cum B. 28. et *pro* ut F. 30—32. et — legem dei *deest* ACD. 36. de fide spiritus CD. 37 sancti *deest* F.

prefatum, tunc spiritus sanctus ordinavit in ea ad tutelam fidelium istum sensum; ideo non restat eius in- A 53[b] probacio nisi probando efficaciter, quod dicte apo | stasie non conveniunt sectis fratrum. Quo facto concedam cum eis, quod spiritus sanctus non illos intenderat in hoc loco. Et hec racio quare locutus sum sic condicionaliter, relinquens iudicium populo et toti ecclesie si a fratribus ista fiunt; que si sint vera, videtur michi quod est triplex remedium contra tales apostatas. Primum est quod scolastici, et specialiter clerici istorum ordinum, detegant istorum apostatarum versucias, et pulsent prelatos ecclesie pro remedio apponendo; secundum quod temporales sunt instruendi ne tales apostatas contro legem Christi foveant. Fides enim dictat quod tota tradicio sua que non est ex ewangelio Christi est subdole contra Christum, ut patet Luce XI°. (Luc. XI, 23) "Qui non est mecum, contra me est". Et tercium remedium in quo magis confido est quod populus subtrahat a talibus temporale subsidium; non enim tantum fulcitur eorum calliditas contra ecclesiam extorquendo ab ea bona pauperum, sicut in religione possessionata, cuius calliditas est diucius indurata. Sic igitur, tam in bonis condicionibus quam in malis, hii in quibusdam possessionatos religiosos superant et in aliis superantur. Et ista dixerim teste deo ad utilitatem ecclesie et fratrum commodum quo ad deum.

Answer: If any have done the evil therein denounced the Spirit has warned us against such. Let them prove that they have not.

If guilty, the remedy is; 1[st] that the scholars and clergy of these orders beg the Prelates to destroy the evil; 2[nd] that the laity be warned against favouring such apostates;

3[rd] that the people should not sustain them: the best remedy of all.

Conclusion: God taken to witness that all this was said for the good of the Church and the Friars.

2. suorum fidelium BF. 6. hec *deest* F. 10. est *deest* F. 13. domini temporales BF; *ib.* quod non *pro* ne F. 16. ut *deest* F. 20. in B. 21. sed *corrected to* sicut B; *ib* bonis eius B. 22. est *deest* B. 23. in *deest* CD.

CAPITULUM TERTIUM.

We have now to deal with the error concerning the Sacrament, because it goes together with apostasy. The Church is troubled by a lie, proceeding from these apostate 'religious', who worship signs; for being in her second thousandth year, Satan is loosed. *First attack on the Church.* The Church prays that this oblation may become *unto us*, Christ's body; not that the bread and wine be destroyed. This, says the man of sin, is a heresy, for God cannot make bread to be His body, but makes His body out of it. *Refutation:* This is against Scripture; for since His ascension Christ assimilates nothing into His Body.

Quia error de eukaristia et error apostasie ut | plu- B 63[b] rimum se sequuntur, ideo pro | maiori declaracione A 53[c] utriusque materie, oportet parumper mixtim procedere. Mendacium enim fictum a cultoribus signorum tam proprietarie quam exproprietarie viventibus et specialiter in ista materia de eukaristia modo perturbat ecclesiam. Ideo ulterius notandum quod in secundo millenario matris nostre, quo solutus est sathanas ut dicitur Apok. XX. Oportet per patrem mendacii et membra sua multiplicari mendacia, et per consequens infideli- Apoc. XX, 3 tates · tam deo quam homini et peccata. Medium autem quo dyabolus illudit ecclesie, est irreligiositas insignis; et specialiter sacramentis, ut patet de sacramento eukaristie et penitencie. Non enim contentatur homo peccati, nisi in despectu trinitatis eructet blasfemiam.

Suggerit enim, quod usus ecclesie in imitacione fidei scripture sit summe hereticus, ut in canone misse docet ecclesia sacerdotes orare, "ut hanc oblacionem" scilicet panem et vinum, deus trinitas sic sanctificet, non ut destruatur omnino, sed "ut nobis corpus et sangwis fiat domini nostri Jesu Christi." Hoc, inquit, est summe hereticum; quia deus non potest facere panem et vinum esse carnem sui et sanguinem, sed de istis substanciis ita facit. Ecce dogma fidei scripture contrarium, cum deus post ascensionem de nullo facit partem suam, sed panem et vinum facit fore carnem suam et sanguinem sacramentaliter in figura.

Secunda antichristi perfidia inpugnat cantum ecclesie ex pravitate heretica, dum sic canit:

1. *After the title, in red ink:* Hic tractat de Eukaristia per magnum passum B. 7. isto modo C; *ib.* minus D. 11. multiplicare CD. 29. blasfemia A; *in marg.* B.

1. The MS. of Trinity College, Dublin (here marked F) goes no further.

Second attack. The Church Hymn contains three catholic truths:

"Verbum caro, panem verum
A 53d Verbo carnem | efficit,
Fitque sanguis Christi merum;
Et si sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum
Sola fides sufficit."

1st That *true bread* becomes the flesh of Christ, the 2nd that *wine* becomes His blood, 3rd that the *sense fails.*

B 63e In quo | versu notantur tres catholice veritates: Prima, B. quod virtute verborum sacramentalium verbi dei fit panis verus caro Christi; secunda, quod eadem virtute fit vinum seu merum sanguis Christi, et tercia; quod sensus deficit in iudicando hoc solum esse panem et vinum, cum fides verborum Christi vere iudicat hoc esse corpus Christi et sanguinem modo suo.

Third attack: on the four Gospels, the Acts and St. Paul. They all use the expression 'bread' as a real thing; which according to Antichrist, is heresy. For God, he says, cannot without self-annihilation, make bread, remaining the same, to *be* His body. Thus, division everywhere: he separates accident from subject, and God from man.

Tercia blasfemia nequissima Antichristi dicit quod quatuor ewangeliste, Paulus apostolus et Actus apostolorum in vocando hoc sacramentum regulariter panem aut vinum, dicunt de virtute sermonis verbum hereticum et blasfemum; cum deus non potest facere panem illum aut vinum esse carnem suam vel sanguinem, nisi se ipsum annichilet et se neget. Consideremus itaque cautelas dyaboli, quibus illudit ecclesie; docet enim omisso signato ad signa attendere, et negare predicaciones signi de signato, ne forte pacis concordia per signatum ad sensum misticum sit concepta. Sed seminando divisionem mirabilem, docet blasfeme divisionem inter accidens et suum subiectum, ut per illud mendacium introducatur divisio inter deum et hominem.

Reasons against this doctrine. The Sacrament ought to be called, not 'accidents', but bread, as the Holy Ghost calls it; or it would be a wrong or useless word.

Possunt autem fieri pro via veritatis alique raciones; primo sic, sicut spiritus sanctus dedit fidelibus sentenciam fidei in scriptura, ita dedit eis formam verborum in quacunque lingwa; sed spiritus sanctus regulariter A 54a vocat sacramentum | altaris panem et nunquam accidens, igitur fideles debent hoc observare. Argumentum patet ex hoc, quod aliter spiritus sanctus superflue dedisset fidem in lingwis, nisi ille forent servande. Similiter B 63d aliqua forma verborum | est servanda; sed illa est potissima, igitur etc.

16. realiter C. 23. in signato A; *ib.* fortis B. 25. blasfemie B. 28. Possunt *deest* D; Nunc autem *pro* autem D. 33. servare B; *ib.* Assumptum B. 36. alia C.

1. Hymn *Pange lingua,* for Corpus Christi day; ascribed to Aquinas.

The words *Hoc*, &c., either mean, Christ pointing to bread, or to accidents, or to anything, or to nothing; now, the three last alternatives are absurd, the authority of Scripture being null, unless it means what it says.

Similiter, aliter periret scripture sacre auctoritas, cum aliter posset fingi, quod bufo demonstratur, vel accidens quodcunque elegerint pro nomine istius: "hoc est corpus meum" vel quod nichil demonstratur, sicut multi fingunt hodie. Minor autem argumenti patet de sex locis quibus fit mencio de eukaristia in scriptura. Unde sancti sacerdotes primi millenarii etatis ecclesie, quando ligatus est sathanas, vocaverunt regulariter ipsum panem, licet in hoc infami millenario solucionis sathane, aliqui glozatores vocent sacramentum accidens, aliqui quantitatem et aliqui qualitatem, et sic de mille opinionibus in materia fidei, cum tamen secundum

God cannot require any other faith of man, but that which He gave in the Bible.

apostolum ad Ephes. IVto "una fides". Item repugnat Eph. IV, 5
divine sapiencie atque clemencie, fidem requirere a sponsa sua vel homine, nisi quam dederit in altero duorum testamentorum; sed fidem primo exigit ante omnia alia opera vel veritates; igitur est in fide scripture tamquam in per se fonte completo fidelibus quiescendum.

You will nowhere find the Eucharist called an accident of the genus quantity. And therefore, we have not to admit what has not been revealed. To say we must believe what is not to be found in Scripture is the arch-blasphemy of Antichrist.

Sed volvat quicunque quam diligenter voluerit rimas scripture, et nunquam inveniet quod sacramentum eukaristie sit accidens de genere quantitatis. Assertum patet ex hoc, quod repugnat iusticie divine requirere a famulo suo, quod nec dedit, nec ad | illud A 54b
solvendum talentum vel thesaurum aliquem adaptavit. Unde videtur, quod antichristus non posset in maiorem D.
blasfemiam prorumpere, quam quod opportet Christianum aliquam fidem credere, que non est reperibilis in scriptura.

Saint Peter quoted against those 'lying masters, who will introduce sects of perdition' &c.

Unde de talibus | prophetavit ille propheta eximius sanc- B 64a
tus Petrus, IIa Petr. IIo. "Fuerunt", inquit, "in populo pseudoprophete, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces II. Petr. II, 1—3; 10, 17
qui introducent sectas perdicionis, et eum qui emit eos dominum negant; per quos via veritatis blasfemabitur; et in avariciam fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur. Audaces, sibi placentes, sectas non metuunt introducere blasfemantes: Hii sunt fontes sine aqua etc."

These are the words of Pope Peter.

Ecce quod papa Petrus qui habuit cerciorem propheciam quam vates legis veteris, prophetat futuros in ecclesia magistros mendaces, qui introducent sectas.

And who are these 'lying masters'?

Qui autem sunt magistri illi, nisi qui fingunt se habere claves

6. fit *deest* D; ib. mencio est B. 7. doctores B. 8. sathan C; ib. vocavit B. 11. multis B. 16. secundum B; *ib.* primo *deest* B. 22. assumptum BCD. 24. adoptavit B. 29. eximius *deest* A. 34. nobis AB. 39. sectas *deest* CD.

sciencie extra fidem scripture, in qua secundum Augustinum est omnis veritas. Hii autem introducunt sectas religionis private, ut mendaciter magnificent nomen suum; secundo hii negant Christum, cum eius pauperiem et eius conversacionem predicant tam verbo quam opere renuendam. Tercio hii blasfemant contra veritatem, cum dogmatisant scolam Christi esse diminutam in fide et solum pro brevi tempore esse observandam. Quarto ex avaricia ydolatra fingunt leges per quas A 54c negociantur quomodo subditos spo | liabunt. Et quinto audacter sed blasfeme introducent sectas, quas ex confirmacione sua fingent in perfeccione excedere religionem, quam Christus instituit. Sed beatus Petrus prophetat eos ex defectu fidei scripture, ut fontes siccos excidere et arescere. Fidelis igitur non debet credere in materia fidei fontibus sic siccatis.

Those who feign to have the key of science without Scripture; who deny Christ, denying His poverty and life; who blaspheme, when they teach that the school of Christ is of slight account, and who introduce sects which they say exceed in perfection the religion of Christ.

E. Item, si sine auctoritate scripture licet variare vo- B 64b cando sacramentum, quod ipsa | vocat panem, non panem sed quantitatem, vel aliam vanitatem (et non est finis potencie sic glosantis), videtur quod totam scripturam sacram pari auctoritate poterit sic glosare et sic totam fidem scripture antiquam pervertere et novam inducere, ut totam historiam gestorum Christi negare ad literam et glossare ad suum oppositum: et sic de aliis que in biblia inseruntur. Sic enim dicitur quendam pretendere se essse papam summum Christi vicarium et caput ecclesie, licet fuerit Christo contrarius et capitale membrum dyaboli, et sic possent fingi indulgencie et privilegia inaudita ac super istis leges erigi et fingi censure summe horribiles, in omnes eis contrarios fulminande; et sic de ministris ecclesie a contrariis officiis nominandis; ut sicut apostaticus dicitur apostolicus, sic episcopus dicatur proditor divini gregis subdolus, et rector ille blasfemus qui est raptor magis sacrilegus bonorum: et sic de cunctis officiis ecclesie et preceptis domini.

III. If it be allowed to call quantity, that which Scripture calls bread, all Scripture can be explained away likewise.

Thus Christ's enemy and the Devil's friend may claim to be Pope.

And so on for the Church's ministers; if 'apostate' may stand for 'Apostolic', 'traitor' may stand for 'Bishop', and 'ravisher', for 'Rector'.

A 54d Cum igitur hoc | dato sequerentur inconveniencia infinita, nec tollendum est argumentum per locum "A simili", non restat fideli nisi obstare principiis. Si enim papa potest licite tollere sensum scripture, dicendo quod regulariter intelligit per panem quem ponit sacra-

There is no resisting the argument of analogy; so we must strive against the very beginnings.

6. veniendam D. 8. esse *deest* B. 15. excedere A; excidere *deest* B; *ib.* crescere *pro* arescere B. 17. *Initial* I *in red ink* B; *ib.* vagare B; vocare D; vacare C; *pro* variare. 39. nec A.

If the Pope can change the sense of Scripture as to the Host, why not as to Christ's life?

mentum non panem sed accidens, quare non potest conduci aliquis ad glossandum quod Christus non fecit opera que de ipso narrat ewangelium, sed assumpta humanitas? et multo magis de quolibet sensu scripture. Ewangelium enim est fides Christiani precipua; ipsum autem sophisticatum est et negatum, non secundum quamlibet eius partem, sed potissime secundum cor eius, quod | dixit veritas caput ecclesie dominus Jesus Christus, B 64c ut patet de isto: "Hoc est corpus meum; hoc est iste panis quem benedixi; et vobis omnibus ex hoc, ideo manducare precepi, quia *hoc est corpus meum*."

IV. Arguments from tradition. The Holy Ghost used these terms that the catholic sense might be elicited therefrom; and there are in favour of this sense, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome; doctors each of whom is worth a thousand of our present ones. Jerome, that great doctor, praised by Augustine, writes thus: "The bread that the Lord broke .... was the body of Christ .... which sense must be taken figuratively". And Augustine: "The sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body in a certain manner".

Unde creditur, quod spiritus sanctus ideo ordinavit F. istam notam cause enim ut eliciatur iste sensus catholicus; unde allegavi sepe pro hoc sensu Ambrosium, Augustinum et Jeronimum doctores precipuos in primo millenario etatis ecclesie, quando ligatus est sathanas, pater mendacii; et quilibet eorum valet mille duodenas doctorum vel paparum sequencium, quando solutus est inimicus veritatis, seminans mendacia contraria scole Christi. Jeronimus enim fuit in fide scripture doctor precipuus, ut patet ex sanctitate vite sue, quam declarat Augustinus in epistola ad Cirillum; "Sanctitate dico iuncte cum dono noticie linguarum sibi dato et diuturnitate | studii scripturarum." A 55a Scribit enim epistola ad Helbidiam de XII questionibus, questione 2a. "Nos", inquit, "audiamus panem quem fregit dominus, deditque discipulis, esse corpus domini salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos: Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum, quod dictum oportet intelligi ad sensum tropicum." Unde Augustinus, epistola 12a ad Bonifacium. "Si", inquit, "sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque eciam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut igitur secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, et sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est." Et

10. iam B. 13. cause enim ut *omnes MSS.* 19. legi; *in margine, alia manu* scole B. 34. ipsa ACD. 36, 37, et ... Christi est *deest* D.

22. The only letter of Augustine to Cyril is spurious, and does not contain these words, as they stand. 25. Ad Hedibiam Hier. Ep. CXX, Migne t. 22, p. 980. 30. Aug. Ep. XCVIII, ad Bonifacium, Migne t. 33, p. 364.

B 64[d] illud sacramentum describit expressius | sermone 55[to] de verbis domini; ubi promittens se narraturum quid sit hoc sacramentum; "panis," inquit, "iste, quem videtis in altari sanctificatus per verbum domini dei corpus Christi est." Cum igitur hii duo sancti fuerunt in exponendis scripture sancte misteriis doctores precipui, ut patet in confessione tocius ecclesie de oracionibus quas de ipsis canimus (et patet distinccione 20) insane videtur ipsos deserere et doctores hesternos in ista fide attendere. Talis igitur figurativa locucio fideli qui voluerit intelligere scripturam sacram est precipue attendenda.

And also: "this bread which you see . . . . is the body of Christ". Now these two being such great doctors, it were madness to desert them, and attend to doctors of yesterday. We must notice that Scripture often speaks figuratively.

Unde Augustinus, super questionibus Levitici, capitulo 74, G. exponens illud Levitici XVII. "Quid est", inquit, „quod A 55[b] prohibens sanguinem dicit: *Anima omnis carnis* | *sanguis eius est?*" et sequitur: "illud appellatur anima quod signat animam. Solet autem res que signat eius rei nomine, quam signat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est: Gen. XLI,26 *Septem spice septem anni sunt;* non enim dixit: septem annos signant; et: *Septem boves septem anni sunt;* et multa huiusmodi. I. Cor. X, 4 Et hinc est quod dictum est: *Petra autem erat Christus.* Non enim dixit 'Petra signat Christum', sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substanciam non erat, sed per figuracionem. Sic et sangwis qui propter vitalem quandam corpulenciam animam signat in sacramentis, anima dictus est". Et sic intelligitur dictum suum in epistola ad Bonifacium, quod "secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est", et illum modum explicat Augustinus, non secundum substanciam, sed secundum significacionem. Ego autem dico hoc debere intelligi secundum quendam tropum vel figuram et non secundum ydemptificacionem vel naturam.

It is thus that Augustine explains the use of *blood* for *life.*

This quotation explains his words "is Christ's body *in a certain manner*", i. e., not substantially but significatively.

B 65[a] Et per ista potest intelligi dictum Damasceni | 4[to] sentenciarum suarum, capitulo 85[to], quando dicit: "Non enim typus panis et vinum corporis et sanguinis Christi;

John Damascenus' words rendered intelligible by this point of view.

4. domini *deest* BC. 5, 6. exponende B. 11. scripturam *deest* CD. 18 occupari CD.

1. Aug. serm. CCXVII. Migne, t. 38, p. 1099. 8. Decr. Grat. 1[a] Pars, dist. XX, c. 1. 14. Aug. Quest. in Heptateuchum, lib. III, c. 57. Migne t. 34, p. 702. 27. Aug. Ep. XCVIII, ad Bonifacium. Migne, t. 33, p. 364. 35. Joh. Dam. De Fide Orthodoxa, lib. IV, c. 13. Migne, t. 94, p. 1147, series Graeca.

"The bread and wine are not a type . . . . God forbid! but the very Deified Body of the Lord saying, This is my *Body*". This is exactly Wyclif's position.

absit! sed ipsum corpus domini deificatum, ipsius domini dicentis: *Hoc meum est*, non *typus corporis,* sed *corpus* et non *tipus sangwinis*, sed *sangwis*." Hic H. dicitur, quod inter omnes doctores iste Grecus asseruit expressius nostram sentenciam, cum sic precedit ibidem, quia conswetudo est hominibus aqua lavari et oleo ungi, quibus iuncta gracia spiritus sancti fit | lavacrum A 55[c] regeneracionis; sic, quia conswetudo est hominibus panem comedere, vinum et aquam bibere, coniugavit deus ipsis sui ipsius deitatem et fecit ipsa corpus et sanguinem sui ipsius; ubi patet expresse quod ipse wult panem, aquam et vinum esse corpus ipsius et sanguinem.

For he says further that the bread and wine are joined to the body and blood of Christ.

Distinction between figures that prefigure, or *types*, and figures that require Christ's actual existence.

That is why he says "the bread is no type".

Unde notandum quod alia est figura precedens temporaliter figuratum, sicut agnus typicus precesserat corpus Christi, et illud; quia non asseritur in scriptura esse corpus Christi, sicut panis et vinum, qui ad esse suum sacramentale requirunt corpus Christi precedere et Christus dicit ipsa vere esse carnem suam et sanguinem. Ideo dicit doctor ipsa non esse typum corporis Christi, hoc est figuram ante signatum vel figuram distancialem corporis Christi, sed ipsummet corpus Christi et figuram eius presencialem.

It were a crime to deny that the bread is the body of Christ.

It is changed into Christ's body, which alone must be considered by the faithful.

Unde horrendum foret fidelem negare panem esse corpus Christi vel post consecracionem naturam panis secundum denominacionem corporis principalissimam remanere, cum convertitur in corpus Christi; ad quod fidelis, suspendendo consideracionem aliam, quantum sufficit debet attendere. Et patet ista sentencia ex textu doctoris.

"A live coal", says Damascenus, "is not mere wood, but wood united with fire; so the bread is not mere bread, but bread united with Deity".

Unde statim post scribitur: "Carbo autem simplex lignum non est, sed unitum igni, ita et panis communionis | B 65[b] non panis simplex est sed unitus deitati." Et paucis interpositis: "Spiritus", inquit, "vivificans est caro domini; quia ex vivificativo spiritu concepta est. Quod enim generatum est ex spiritu, spiritus est; hoc autem dico | non destruens corporis substanciam, sed vivi- A 55 ficativum et divinum eius manifestare volens"; et sequitur in fine: "Omnes enim unum corpus sumus, quia ex uno pane assumimus, quem ad modum ait apostolus; antitipa autem, id est, refigurativa futurorum dicuntur, non ut non encia vere corpus et sanguis Christi; sed

1. ipsius verbis B. 5. subdit BCD. 7. sit CD. 10. divinitatem B. 11. expressissime B. 20, 21. vel figuram *deest* B. 22. principalem B. 28. ex vivificato CD. 30, 31. vivificatum CD. 39. anticipa ABD. 40. ut *pro* non ut D.

quoniam nunc quidem participamus ipsam Christi deitatem, tunc autem intellectualiter per solam consideracionem."

I. Ex istis tribus dictis huius magni philosophi patent tria: primo, quod videtur dicere panem qui est sacramentum non esse pure panem, sed cum hoc corpus Christi, sicut carbo ignitus ignis dicitur; et illud nomen secundum notabilem excellenciam debet post consecracionem, sopito priori nomine, sibi competere, sicut, rege et scurra existentibus in eodem loco et habitu, ministri debent, scurra postposito, ad regem attendere. Secundo patet quod loquitur tropice, quando dicit, quod caro Christi est spiritus, licet substancia carnis vere substernitur. Et tercio patet quod exponit se ipsum de tipo vel antitipo, quod est figura futurorum, non ut sacramentum altaris; quia figure legis veteris non sunt corpus Christi, sicut est panis consecratus, cum Christus nunquam dixit de agno tipico: "Hoc est corpus meum." Quod si dixisset, fidelis pari auctoritate concederet quod ille agnus est corpus Christi. Unde istum modum quo panis fit corpus Christi, dicit Damascenus esse credibilem, cum veritas illud dicit, sed non ulterius queribilem.

Three things are therefore made clear: 1st Damascenus says that the body of Christ is present with the bread.

2nd That when he speaks of Christ's body being *spirit*, he uses a figure.

3rd That, as to the type and the antitype, the latter was only a figure of the future.

Christ tells us that bread is His body; so we must believe it, not enquiring how.

A 56a Tercium | testimonium preter Augustinum et Jero-
B 65c nimum | est testimonium magni Ambrosii in libro suo
K. de *Sacramentis;* et ponitur in canone de consecracione, distinccione 2a (capitulo, *Panis est in altari*) ubi probat primo multipliciter, quod panis potest esse corpus Christi per miracula veteris testamenti. Ideo dicit, quod virtute verborum Christi, panis fit corpus Christi. In quo dicto, sicut loquitur indubie de pane materiali, ita loquitur de faccione figurativa vel sacramentali.

Testimony of Ambrose, who proves that bread can be Christ's body.

As he speaks of material bread he speaks of a figurative or sacramental 'becoming'.

In isto autem dicta huius sancti oportet discredere doctoribus nostris et glose ordinarie decretorum, cum ipsi glozant dicto sanctorum per suum oppositum; ut gloza ordinaria dicit super illo verbo Ambrosii: "Panis est in altari", quod dictum huius sancti est inpossibile; quod si sit verum, cum sit materia fidei, indubie foret hereticum, et sic maior pars fidei scripture. Secundo dicit eadem glossa ordinaria, super capitulo *Sacer-*

But we must beware of the glosses that explain this Saint in a wrong sense. Many instances of this; they deny some of his writings to be genuine, make him say that the Sacrament has no weight, &c.

25. suo *deest* B. 38. unum *pro* verum B.

39. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars, dist. II, c. 30.

As the Pope's word cannot prevail against the Gospel, we must seek another Master.

dotum, quod sacramentum non est ponderosum; et per idem nec quantum nec quale: et cum sit manifeste sensibile, patet quod omnimoda foret quantitas et qualitas in abstracto. Tercio dicit super capitulo *Timorem,* quod nichil demonstratur pro nomine in verbis sacramentalibus; et tunc indubie sacerdos nichil plus conficit quam pica, quia requiritur ad confeccionem pronominis signacio, et sacerdotis recta intencio. Quarto dicit, super capitulo *Non iste panis,* quod corpus Christi non transiet gulam suam; et indubie; nisi corpus Christi sit ad omnem partem sui intrinsecam, dampnabitur tamquam obstinatus hereticus. Et sic dubitat, si aranea tangat eukaristiam; utrum remaneat corpus Christi; et sic de multis quorum opposita oportet fidelem credere. Ideo ipso abiecto qui dicit papam posse dispensare contra apostolum, alius magister in materia fidei est querendus.

9. non est iste B.

8. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars, dist. II, c. 56.

CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

B 65^{d} | Quarto sic: non per se, sed per accidens, est canonisacio fidei vel heresis condempnacio in ore cuiuslibet Christiani; sed omne per accidens est reducibile ad aliquid per se; igitur oportet dare aliquod exemplum dirigens papam vel alium quemcumque ad taliter iudicandum. Quod non est fingendum, nisi fides scripture. Maior patet ex hoc, quod multi pape erraverunt in fide, et quilibet illorum potuit magis oberrasse; cum non sit plus confirmatus, quam Lucifer vel Machomet; sicut oportet fidelem credere qui non confitetur ipsum esse hominem peccati, elevatum super omne quod dicitur deus. Oportet igitur dare pape sic flexibili aliquod fundamentum in istis actibus cui ut veritati immobili innitatur. Cum igitur iuxta fidem Christus dedit duo testamenta fidelibus, tamquam medium sufficiens pro hoc fine, et secundum apostolum II^{a} Thim. II^{a} (II.Tim. II, 13) ipse deus verax est et "se ipsum negare non potest", videtur quod in isto fundamento fidelibus est instandum; aliter enim posset papa presumere canonisare ysagogas Porphirii et predicamenta Aristotelis, dampnando ewangelium tamquam hereticum: quod quidam A 56^{c} putant contigisse de facto: Nam in potencia pape | statuisse credendum est ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Et fides scripture cum beato Augustino dicit quod est naturaliter panis sanctificatus et figurative vel alio modo incognito corpus Christi. Si igitur oportet fidelem credere ut fidem catholicam, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, et Porphirius et Aristoteles in isto verissime ac pertinentissime laborarunt, oportet in isto B 66^{a} canonisare sentencias suas. Sequitur enim: | Sacra-

No Christian can rule faith or condemn heresy by his mere affirmation: Therefore we must give a rule to direct the Pope in his judgments. Whoso has erred in fact, and can err in principle, cannot judge of faith by himself: but such is the case for the Popes.

A sure foundation is the Bible, given by the true God.

Otherwise, the Pope might declare the Isagoge of Porphyry and Aristotle's Categories to be inspired;

if so, these writers who have said much about accidents and subjects, are above Scripture.

4. ad aliquod B. 11. peccato B. 12. populo B. 16. fieri B.
20. per synagogas B. 23. est *deest* AC.

The sacrament is an accident without its subject; therefore it is equally subject and accident. If the antecedent is *de fide*, so is the consequent. Now this is just the doctrine of Porphyry and Aristotle.

mentum altaris est accidens sine subiecto; igitur tam accidens quam subiectum est, sed antecedens oportet quemlibet fidelem ut fidem credere atque cognoscere: igitur et consequens. Oportet igitur ad istos duos autores recurrere. Multi enim blaterant in ista materia voces proprias de subiectis et accidentibus, ignorantes; ponit enim Porphirius quinque esse universalia, scilicet genus, speciem, differenciam, proprium et accidens. Illud autem quintum universale sic describit. "Accidens est, quod adest et abest preter subiecti corrupcionem." Sed quantum ad subiectum (quod oportet fidelem vigilancius cognoscere) dividit Aristoteles ens principale in [B.] quatuor ista membra. "Eorum," inquit, "que sunt, aliqua dicuntur de subiecto, et non sunt in subiecto, ut universalia de genere substancie; aliqua autem dicuntur de subiecto et sunt in subiecto, ut universalia de genere accidentis; aliqua vero non dicuntur de subiecto, sed sunt in subiecto, ut singularia de genere accidentis; quarto autem sunt | [A 56d] aliqua que nec dicuntur de subiecto nec sunt in subiecto, ut substancie singulares." Sed oportet fidelem ultra cognoscere, quod triplex est subiectum: scilicet predicacione ut loquitur Aristoteles ibidem, mutacione ut loquuntur philosophi de subiecto motus, et veneracione, ut loquitur beatus Petrus, I[a] Petr. II°. "*Subiecti* estote omni humane creature propter deum"; et pertinet theologis loqui de tali subiecto. [I. Petr. II, 13]

But "subject" has three meanings: subject by predication, subject by change, and subject by veneration; as in this text: "Be *subject* to every human creature for God's sake." Porphyry and Aristotle, though great philosophers, have nothing to do with explaining an article of faith. And many persons of note say that what we see after the consecration is an accident without subject; not knowing what they mean.

Quamvis autem Aristoteles et Porphirius dicant multas necessarias veritates, nunquam tamen credidi expectasse diem in quo ille articulus fidei ab Aristotele et Porphirio indigeat declarari. Et revera multi et magni blaterant ut articulum fidei credendum, quod sacramentum altaris oculo corporali visum post consecracionem sit accidens | [B 66b] sine subiecto; et tamen nec concipiunt sufficienter ad fidem ipsum accidens, nec subiectum. Minus autem mala foret ista heresis, si cum hoc admitterent fidem scripture, et sine ypocrisi palam detegerent heresim, quam sic fingunt. Modo autem [C.] dicunt quod scriptura dicens quod panis sit corpus

2. omnem B. 4. ergo de fide B. 6. substancius B. 20. nec *deest* D. 33. ut *pro* nec B.

9. *Πορφυρίου Εἰσαγωγή. Συμβεβηκὸς δέ ἐστιν, ὃ γίνεται καὶ ἀπογίνεται χωρὶς τῆς του ὑποκειμενου φθορᾶς.* 13. *Ἀριστ. Κατηγορίαι. Τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν καθ' ὑποκειμένου τινὸς λέγεται, ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δὲ οὐδενί ἐστιν κ. τ. α.*

Luc. XXIV, 35 Christi est inpossibilis; ut quando ewangelium dicit Luc. XXIV, quod cognoverunt Christum "in fraccione panis", qui panis fuit indubie sacramentum eukaristie, glossatores pervertunt sensum spiritus sancti; hii, quod non intelligit panem sanctum sed usualem, quem fregit tamquam attentus figure levitatis, ac si foret scissus cultello acutissimo. Alios tamen panes scimus Christum precepisse apostolis dare populo ad edendum; ut patet A 57[a] de duobus | miraculosis conviviis. Math. VI et VIII, quibus Christus de paucis panibus pavit populum in deserto. Non enim decet autorem vite benedicere, frangere, et dare panem suis discipulis ad edendum, nisi fuerit panis sanctus. Unde Augustinus in libro sermonum sermone 61 pro feria secunda Pasche (et ponitur de consecracione distinccione II[a]. *"Non omnis panis"*): "Mementote," inquit, "carissimi, quemadmodum dominus Jesus ab eis quorum oculi tenebantur, ne illum agnoscerent, in fraccione panis voluit reagnosci." "Non," inquit, "omnis panis, sed accipiens benediccionem Christi, fit corpus Christi." Ideo illi fingunt formam verborum ewangelii esse impossibilem; sed sic deberet intelligi: "cognoverunt eum in fraccione accidentis," ut puta qualitatis vel quantitatis, que non poterit esse B 66[c] panis. Et ista videtur glossa extraordinaria decretorum. |

They say that "to know Christ in the breaking of bread" refers, not to the Sacrament, but to common bread.

But then He would not have given it to His disciples with His own hands; the Apostles distributed common bread among the multitudes.

Sic igitur in penam peccati cecatur ecclesia, quod vix in tota Anglia invenies duo capitula vel prelatos D. qui sciant quid sit sacramentum altaris. Sciunt autem eorum ministri opponere ordinandis de numero sacramentorum, et quomodo sacramentum altaris differt ab aliis; sed cum ipsimet nesciunt quid sit illud, patet quod nesciunt distinguere ipsum ab aliis. Querit enim secularis ex naturali ingenio, si debet credere utrum illud album, rotundum, et aliter accidentatum, sit corpus Christi; et coacti respondere ad illam questionem simpliciter dicunt quod non est corpus Christi, sed accidens sine subiecto; quia per idem, ut arguunt, quelibet eius A 57[b] | particula foret idem corpus Christi, et per consequens quelibet pars hostie foret idem cuilibet; et sic hostia foret omnino indivisibilis, sine parte. Et

The sense would then be: 'They knew him in the breaking of the accidents.' In punishment of our sins the Church is blinded on this point.

The Priests do not know what they mean. "Is that white round thing which I see, Christ's body?" asks a layman. "No," they answer; "it is an accident": for there are parts in what you see, and if it were Christ's body there would be none."

1. unde D. 11. docet C. 13. in *deest* B. 17. oculi *deest* B. 18. recognosci B. 25. enim *pro* igitur B. 30. tamen D. 34. Christi *deest* D.

15. Decr. Grat. 3[a] Pars, dist. II, c. 61. Aug. Serm. CCXXXIV (Migne, t. 38, p. 1116).

habito per sacerdotem, quod non sit corpus Christi, querit laycus naturali ingenio, quid igitur est, substancia vel accidens, caro, vel piscis? Et hic stabat Johannes. Michi autem videtur quod secunda divisio est sufficiens, cum sit caro, quia caro Christi.

They say we must not examine.

Let them rather grant that they know neither what distinguishes this Sacrament nor even the number of the Sacraments. For the question "What?" precedes: "How many?" and "of what quality?"

Illi autem qui eligunt secundam partem divisionis prime fingunt ad excusandum excusaciones in peccatis, quod non debet queri quid sit hoc sacramentum, cum ipsi bene examinati hoc nesciunt. Sed oportet eos primo dicere, quod nesciunt distinccionem huius sacramenti ab aliis, et per consequens nec numerum sacramentorum, nec aliquam passionem; nam questio "quid est" presupponitur ad duas alias questiones. Secundo, tales nimis ostendunt suam ignoranciam et defectum, cum cocus corporis non admittitur nisi cognoverit quidditatem cibi corporei quem ministrat; quanto magis cocus | [B 66d] anime quo ad cibum in quo iacet infinitum maius periculum! [E.] Nec valet dicere quod corpus Christi est ibidem; tum quia hoc ignoratur, tum eciam quia hoc non queritur, cum scitur divinitatem esse infinitum verius et infinitum excellencius ad quemlibet eius punctum.

Men and mice knew what it was *before* consecration. *After*, this knowledge ought to be clearer, not more obscure. A shrew-mouse will distinguish it from iron, after its fashion. Shall we say that God enlightens it, and denies judgment to man?

Tercio, tam homo quam mures sciverunt ante consecracionem, quid sit illud; et per consecracionem et assistenciam tanti luminis non extinguitur prior noticia; ergo post debet sciri clarius, quid sit illud quod | [A 57c] sacerdos consecravit. Sorex enim scit modo suo distingwere illud a lamina ferri vel alterius, quod non optat sic edere; et dicere quod illuminat sic vermem et negat iudicium sensus humani, in tanto miraculo foret nimis magna blasfemia.

Again, a curate gives the communicant a consecrated host.

But does he know *what* he has given him? If not, he gives his parishioner "that which he knows not".

Quarto, patet quod oportet curatum concedere, quod ministravit communicato suo hostiam consecratam, et per consequens aliquam hostiam dedit sibi; et per consequens oportet dare cumparibus, quod "hoc" dedit sibi; et curatus qui non intelligeret proposicionem illam quam sibi concedit, foret nimius ydiota. Concessa igitur proposicione, quero quid demonstrat per hoc subiectum "*hoc*". Si scit, tunc oportet quod sciat quid est illa hostia; si nescit, tunc nescit quid dedit subdito, vel quid ut sic adorat; sed ut Samaritanis infidelior, de quibus Joh. IV, adoraret infideliter "illud [Joh. IV, 22]

3. aut B. 5. quia caro *deest* B. 10. docere B. 23. post B. 24, 25. et — clarius *in marg.* A; *deest* CD. 33. ostiam AB. 38, 39. si — hostia *deest* ACD. 40. aderat B.

quod nescit". Et illa communis ficticia qua dicitur quod sacramentum eukaristie sit accidens sine subiecto, est nimis heretica; quod autem non sit accidens patet alibi; et quod non sit sine subiecto, patet, primo, ex hoc quod tunc est sine aliquo subiecto, et per consequens tunc non habet deum vel humanitatem Christi ad quemlibet eius punctum; quia utrumque istorum necessario est subiectum: deitas, relacioni racionis, et B 67a humanitas omni | generi accidentis. Nec impediunt illa analogice implicancia relacionem descensum a termino stante mobiliter, ut sequitur: Petrus est sine substancia A 57d vel accidente; B est substancia | vel accidens: igitur Petrus est sine B. Nec dicit subiectum relacionem expressius quam substancia, vel accidens; igitur est par racio inferrendi. Nec est dictum illud auctoritas scrip- F. ture quam oportet ex fide concedere et glosare. Item, ipsum sacramentum et quelibet eius particula est subiectum aliis accidentibus: igitur ipsum non est sine subiecto secundum aliquam eius partem. Et idem patet ex hoc, quod qualitas sensibilis est sacramentum, ut patet ex diffinicione sacramenti; et ipsa non est sine subiecto, cum subiectatur, ut inquiunt, in quantitate: et ipsa quantitas non est per se illud sacramentum; tum quia nulla quantitas potest per se taliter accidentari, ut accidentatur hostia; tum eciam, quia nulla quantitas eadem in numero potest maiorari vel minorari, sicut videmus hostiam transmutari.

What a heresy to call the Eucharist an absolute accident! Heresy of calling the Eucharist 1st an accident, 2nd without subject. 1st point proved elsewhere; 2nd if no subject, no substance; if no substance, no God, and no manhood of Christ in any of its parts.

This doctrine is not a Scripture text that must be admitted and explained. The sacrament is the subject of all the other accidents; so it is not quite without a subject.

Item, si sacramentum sit sine subiecto suo, tunc est sine supposito subiecto sibi; et cum sit verum corpus Christi, sequitur quod omnis Christianus non est subiectus corpori Christi et sic Christo; consequens impossibile, ad minimum pro beatis in patria. Ymo cum sacramentum sit plene sicut debet esse, sequitur quod debet esse sine subiecto sibi, et per consequens nullus Christianus debet sibi subici, contra quam blasfemiam I. Petr. II, 13 mandat beatus Petrus: "Subiecti estote omni humane creature propter deum." Si, inquam, omni humane creature debemus subici, et corpus Christi sit humana creatura precipua, quia Christus, sequitur quod sibi debemus subici. Non est igitur catholicum predicare, B 67b quod nemo debet esse subiectus | eukaristie, quia licet A 58a nimis pauci sint debite | sibi subiecti, post seminacionem

Again, the sacrament is the body of Christ; but the sacrament is without subject, therefore the body of Christ is without a subject. It follows that no Christian is subject to Christ.

2. est B. 22. inquirunt B. 24, 25. accidentare BCD.

huius heresis, omnes tamen Christiani debent esse sibi subiecti.

Objection: You equivocate as to the senses of the word 'subject'. *Answer:* No. The faithful ought to have the signification given by Peter more in their minds than that of heathens.

Et si dicatur quod equivocatur in "subiecto" domini (G.) contestor et suam ecclesiam, quod subieccio beati Petri debet esse fideli usitacior quam subieccio Porphirii vel alterius ethnici. Loquendo eciam ut ipsi loquuntur, quodlibet singulare est subiectum predicacionis; quelibet eciam ostia consecrata est subiectum transmutacionis, cum potest ferri de loco ad locum; potest eciam per se solam descendere et potest putrefieri et pulsione, traccione, veccione et vertigine transmutari.

This doctrine is therefore a useless fiction, except to show off the treacheries of the leech's disciples. The leech has two daughters, simoniacal heretics and traitors. And the land cannot rest, until purged of such.

Ideo non videtur istam ficticiam introductam de quidditate hostie consecrate valere, nisi ut in penam peccati illudat ecclesie; licet per accidens iuvat ad manifestandum fallacias proditorias discipulorum sanguisuge. Sanguisuge enim due sunt filie in avaricia stabilite, dicentes Affer, Affer, scilicet symoniace heretici, et proditores veritatis et regni. De symoniace hereticis, patet in tractatu *De symonia*, capitulo I^o et infra. Nec dubium fideli, quin impossibile est regnum esse stabile atque pacificum, nisi de illis hereticis fuerit expurgatum.

It is the Friars' fault: hardly one of them raises his voice against this evil. They do all they can to become confessors of princes, but deceive the princes whose confessions they hear; and thus they lead the kingdom astray.

Et licet maior pars regni fuerit ista heresi viciata, vix unum fratrem invenies qui audeat contra istud periculum dicere unum verbum. Quomodo igitur non sunt ex consensu dampnabiles et regni (quod plus ponderant hodie) infidelissimi proditores. Item, procurant se fieri regum, principum, dominorum | (A 58^b) secularium et dominarum omnimode confessores; | (B 67^c) et tamen non obstante quod sint custodes anime, nec cognoscunt cibum eukaristie quem propinant, sed ignorancia cecati sunt in ydiotarum capitulo plus quam illi; nec dicunt vel peccati gravedinem, ut prudentes medici, et defensores regni, ac adiutores dei; sed cecis promissionibus absolucionum et falsis ac fictis sanacionibus cicatricum, decipiunt confessos prodicione nimis aspera; et sic regnum.

If they loved their penitents they would labour for their salvation. Doing the contrary, they are traitors.

Item, si amarent confessos, ut simulant, et (H.) salutem anime sue plus quam favorem mundanum, honorem aut questum, ipsi laborarent, aliis dimissis, circa ea que utilia media sunt ad illam: sed cum faciunt omnino contrarium, manifeste convincitur, quod

6. vel Aristotelis vel B. 8. hostia CD. 11. uncione CD. 17. *second* after *in marg.* A; *deest* CD. 25, 26. ponderatur ACD. 29. sicut B. 31. idiotarum et laycorum BCD. 33. eciam B. 37. solium B. 39. utilior B.

sunt proditores principum, populi, et regnorum. Quis enim foret pater spiritualis regis titulo confessionis, videndo eum tanquam maniacum precipitanter currere ad abissum, qui non secundem possibilitatem suam mitigaret maniam et principem a puteo revocaret? Multo magis salvaret animam ab inferno. Modo autem debet constare cunctis fidelibus quod regum officium foret precipue heresim symoniacam de regnis suis extingwere; et tamen fratres, confessores principum, videndo confessos suos per heresim istam currendo ad infernum defendere et fovere, non laborant ad destruccionem huius pestis consulere; sed student quomodo A 58[e] B 67[1] in se ipsis possent | pingwem episcopatum | perquirere; et sic utrimque ad enervacionem ecclesie heresim symoniacam adaugere. Numquid credimus tales esse proditores regni? Constat quod sic, cum secundum Augustinum ut alias diffuse exposui, rex et regnum in virtutibus et viciis sibimet reciproce, ut plurimum, correspondent. Totum igitur regnum debet contra tales pseudoprophetas insurgere, nec ficcionem mendacii ab ipsis recipere. Si enim fingunt quod non possunt talem infidelitatem in confesso suo extingwere, quare nolunt secundum formam ewangelii obstinatum talem deserere; consumpcio enim morosa bonorum regni in consorcio talis desperati facit tales apostatas ex consensu esse participes mali sui.

Would any confessor of the king, seeing him rushing to an abyss, not try to stop him?

And the abyss of Hell is worst of all.

But instead of crushing this heresy they only try to get into fat bishoprics.

This is flat treason: the king and his kingdom being related for good or for ill.

If they say that they cannot destroy this heresy, let them give up their charges.

2. familias ACD; *ib.* et regis B. 7. Christi B. 14. utrumque BD; *ib.* curacionem CD. 15. esse *dees* AB. 16. regni *deest* B. 17. et ACD. 20. et CD.

CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

Objections brought forward and refuted. Grosseteste's opinion on the Eucharist: 'That the many sensible parts are united in One; the sensible parts of the bread, in the unity of Christ's body; of wine, in that of His blood; the former, having us subsistence by themselves, are yet not the accidents of Christ's body.' Others use like expressions, which require explanation to avoid absurdity. They probably mean that the accidents of bread are in the thoughts of the faithful, while its substance is absent. Instances as to *Time*, the *Universal*, and the *Sensible*; each of which, to exist, depends on Mind.

Sed contra dicta arguitur per dominum Linconiensem super capitulo III° *Ecclesiastice ierarchie,* ubi sic loquitur: "Assumentes sensibiliter partita et multa, non vere profiterentur communicatores, nisi ipsa multa in aliquo unirentur; uniuntur autem ea multa in que dividitur panis consecratus in unitate veri corporis Christi, et ea multa in que dividitur calix in unitate sanguinis ipsius. Et forte dicuntur ea multa, que sensibiliter multis distribuuntur, fieri, seu esse in hiis; quia iste sensibiles forme non habent alias subsistencias ipsas in esse tunc supportantes; non enim est tunc sub forma panis aut vini materialis substancia panis aut vini. Nec tamen sunt ille forme sensibiles in corpore et sangwine Christi, ut in sub | iectis ab eis denominatis." Et eandem B 68ª sentenciam dicit | Hugo de sancto Victore, Petrus Lumbardus A 58ᵈ et alii moderni doctores concorditer. Hic sepe dixi, quod presumptuosa temeritas foret scandalizando imponere inpossibile istis doctoribus, dum possunt aliunde evidenter glozari. Ideo sepe dixi tanquam probabile, quod ipsi intellexerant accidencia per se esse in actu consideracionis fidelum, dum panis et vini quidditas quoad consideracionem huiusmodi sit sopita.

Sic enim loquuntur philosophi quos ipsi videntur sequi in verbis, "quod tempus, universale, et sensibile, non habent esse in actu, nisi per animam"; ut, per consideracionem anime, cognoscatur tempus secundum racionem qua mensurat motum tamdiu post et ante in motu. Universale eciam, secundum racionem qua communicatur multis eius suppositis, et sensibile secundum racionem qua est reducibile ad actum senciendi. Sic

1. Capitulum *deest* ABD. 5. confitentur AB; *ib.* ipsa via CD. 9. sanguis *pro* calix . . . sanguis AB. 23. modi *deest* B. 31. qua communicate CD.

est de sacramento secundum racionem qua signum; quidditas enim panis aut vini quoad illud sopita est et racio accidencium per se sensibilium expergefacit animam ut consideret sacramentum actualiter tanquam signum. Sed sicut universale sensibile et tempus non eo minus habent esse naturale, licet esse cognitum secundum racionem qua huiusmodi sit suspensum, sic quodammodo est de eukaristia.

Thus also the *esse* of any sign *as a sign* depends upon the mind that knows it as such. But this does not exclude an independent natural *esse*.

B. Unde pro isto sensu Linconiensis est primo textus beati Dyonisii quem exponit; ipse enim vocat regulariter sacramentum panem et nunquam accidens, sicut faciunt apostoli, quibus fuit iste sanctus contemporaneus. Unde vocat Thimoteum cui scribit librum illum propter iuventutem puerum. Secundo moveret quod iste doctor A 59a B 68b vocat | sacramentum regulariter panem, sicut autor | quem exponit. Non igitur debet presumi, quod tam subtilis logicus sit ita recenter contradictorius sibi ipsi. Nec movet, quod ipse non vocat sacramentum secundum naturam vel substanciam panem, sed simpliciter panem, quia fides nostra vocat salvatorem nostrum Jesum et non exprimit eum sub nomine substancie hominis vel nature, et tamen fidelis credit, quod Christus vere sit substancia hominis vel natura et non fantasma accidentis, ut infideles gariunt.

In favour of this rendering is St. Dionysius, who calls the Sacrament 'bread'.

Why suppose him to be inconsistent? He does not indeed say 'the substance of' bread, but 'bread'. But neither does our faith call Jesus the 'substance of man', but 'man'.

Tercio movet, quod iste doctor approbative recitat super prima racione capituli 3ii beati Dyonisii, quod sacramentum illud est caro Christi. "Est," inquit, „eukaristia secundum beatum Ignacium caro salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi pro peccatis nostris passa, que imbecilles infirme accipiunt." Sacramentum itaque vocat panem consecratum et corpus Christi, non accidens.

And he calls the Sacrament 'the consecrated bread' and 'the body of Christ'; not 'an accident'.

C. Unde ad hoc quod fructuose communicemus in hoc sensibili sacramento, oportet nos reduci ad triplicem unionem. Primo, oportet nos multos fieri unum corpus Christi, hoc est, unum membrum sponse Christi, ut I. Cor. IX, 17 dicit apostolus Cor. X; secundo, oportet, quod multitudo hostiarum reducatur ad unum corpus Christi, sic quod quotquot sunt ostie vel in quotcunque partes sunt divise, omnes et singule sunt idem corpus Christi; et tercio omnia illa sacramenta sensibilia, suspensa consideracione de quidditate substrate substancie, redu-

To communicate fruitfully we must be united in a threefold manner.

1st We, being many, must become one body of the Church.

2nd The multitude of hosts must be one body of Christ;

3rd All those sensible signs must be

1. significatur B. 10. exposuit B; *ib.* regulare B. 14. parvuum CD. 15. regulare B. 22. materia B. 25. moveret CD. 36. in Cor. 10 D. 38. hostie CD. 39. idem *deest* B.

referred, without thought of their quiddity, to the body of Christ into which all is changed. And note that Grosseteste says *'Perhaps'* when he denies a subject.

cuntur quo ad consideracionem et cultum fidelium ad unicum corpus Christi, in quod omnia convertuntur. Unde, quia hoc casualiter evenit, ideo dicit | Linconiensis, (A 59b) quod "forte ille forme sensibiles dicuntur sic uniri, quia ille forme sensibiles non habent alias subsistencias ipsas tunc in esse | supportantes", suple "in actu con- (B 68c) sideracionis fidelium". Nec est facile fingere, quomodo doctor ad alium sensum insereret hoc adverbium "forte".

And when St. Ambrose says after the consecration we must believe there is nothing, but Christ's body he means 'we must then think of nothing else'.

Et sic intelligitur dictum beati Ambrosii positum de consecracione, distinccione II, capitulo "*Omnia quecunque*", ubi dicit quod panis et vinum post consecracionem nichil aliud quam corpus Christi et sanguis credenda sunt, quia non est tunc cogitandum de alia quidditate. Et sic intelligitur dictum Augustini de verbis domini, sermone 28. "Dixi vobis quod ante verba Christi quo offertur panis dicatur; sed cum verba Christi depromta fuerint, iam non panis dicitur sed corpus Christi appellatur"; et intelligitur indubie corpus Christi, ut patet sermone 53. "Sacramentum", inquit, "pene omnes corpus Christi dicunt."

So also of many other expressions; as when Grosseteste says: "That there is no material substance of bread or wine."

Et idem patet in aliis dictis sanctorum similibus; et ad eundem sensum refertur sequens negativa Linconiensis dicentis, quod "non est tunc materialis substancia panis aut vini", supple "in actu consideracionis fidelium", quia ipse indubie loquitur de qualitatibus sensibilibus, quas oportet tam secundum modernos quam antiquos fundari in quantitate corporea; et per consequens non poterunt per se esse.

Yet whether before or after the consecration it is good to remember how the nature of bread is reduced to unity: Augustine quoted.

Notandum tamen quod, ante verba consecracionis (D.) et post, licitum est et meritorium memorari, quomodo natura panis secundum gradus unionis redigatur ad unam integritatem, ut patet sepe per beatum Augustinum; ut patet, III° *de trinitate* capitulo septimo; et in libro sermonum, | sermone 55°. "Aliud," inquit, "est sacra- (A 59c) mentum, aliud virtus sacramenti." Sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti, homo interior sa-

8. inferret B. 14. aliqua CD. 25. vult vini sub forma panis et vini BC. 28. quam secundum B. 29. potuerunt CD. 35. *After* 55to: Idem docet Rabanus in "de naturis rerum", libro 5 capitulo XI. Aliud *etc.* B. 55to capitulo CD.

11. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars, Dist. II, c. 74. 20. Aug. Serm. CCCLIV. Migne, t. 38, p. 1563. 35. Aug. In Joh. Tract. XXVI. Migne, t. 35, p. 1611.

ciatur igitur, quia panis corpus hominis confirmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur; vinum (B 68d) autem, quia sanguinem | operatur in carnem: ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Et possunt glozari quotquot doctores qui videntur dicere, quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto; sed postquam generacio adultera signa querens in ista materia multiplicavit mendacia, publicata est ista blasfemia, quod eukaristia sit accidens sine subiecto.

'As bread strengthens man's body, as wine makes blood, each is properly called the body and blood of Christ.'

Secundo obicitur per hoc, quod papa Innocencius III, qui habet spiritum et potestatem exponendi fidem scripture, determinat quod est accidens sine substancia; ut patet III decretalium de celebrandis missis, capitulo *Cum Marthe*. Sed hoc non habet necessitatem vel colorem ponere, nisi in sacramento eukaristie; igitur, ibidem est accidens sine subiecto; quo habito, opportet ponere illud accidens esse sacramentum, quia certum est quod aliquod sensibile signum remanet; si illud sit panis, tunc non est accidens; si illud sit accidens quod prius fuit in pane, ipso pane remanente, tunc non est accidens sine subiecto; ideo necesse est ponere, ut moderni fingunt, quod illud signum sacramentale sit accidens quod quondam fuit in pane, natura panis destructa. Hic sepe dixi, quod nec deus nec homo potest facere accidens sine subiecto. Et quantum ad dictum pape potest dici, quod ipse intelligit accidens esse in sacramento sine subiecto naturali, actualiter et (A 59d) prin | cipaliter a fidelibus apprehenso; cum tota consideracio fidelium debet esse suspensa in corpore Christi, quod est figurative sacramentum sensibile; sicut, videndo carbonem ignitum, homo non considerat utrum sit lapis vel lignum; et sic de eius qualitate naturali correspondenter secundum Johannem Damascenum (E.) est de eukaristia iudicandum. Sed ulterius cum (B 69a) non docetur | istum fuisse sensum pape predicti, scilicet Innocencii III[ii]: notandum quod nulli pape est credendum, nisi de quanto docuerit se loqui ex spiritu sancto, vel se fundaverit in scriptura. Petrus enim et ceteri autores scripture docuerunt in facto, quod deus in eis locutus est sentenciam quam scripserunt; posteriores

Second objection. It has been declared by Pope Innocent III that the Eucharist is an accident without subject.

Answer. If that accident be the sacrament, we must say that the accident remains, *the nature of bread being destroyed.* But even God cannot make an accident without subject. The Pope's declaration can be explained as that of the other doctors.

Still, as we are not sure that Innocent had this sense in mind, we must only believe the Pope when he speaks by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, or grounding his decision on Scripture.

8. publicana AB; *ib.* est B. 12. subiecto B. 13. celo B. 18. signi B. 20. pane *deest* B. 34. de *deest* AB.

14. Decr. Greg. lib. III, tit. 21, c. 6.

autem pape et quatuor magni doctores non devenerant ad hunc gradum.

Such is the doctrine of Augustine.

Ideo sepe docet beatus Augustinus quod nulli eorum quantumcunque magna sciencia vel sanctitate prepolleat, credendum est, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura; ut patet 9ª distinccione. Unde suspecta videtur presumpcio, cum in scriptura sacra sit omnis veritas, ut patet IIº. *De doctrina Christiana*, in fine, et

It is a ground for suspicion that the Pope did not allege Scripture for this doctrine.

quantum oportet explicite fidelem credere, est ibi explicitum, quod papa iste noluit allegare fidem scripture pro ista sentencia. Item, extranea exposicio quam dat scripture De maioritate et obediencia, capitulo *Solite*,

We are not more obliged to believe it, than to think him right in levying tribute of 900 marks on England.

reddit hominem plus suspectum. Non enim opportet ecclesiam in isto sibi credere ut autori veritatis quam detegit; nec ut testi veritatis plus creditur in isto auctoritati sue quam in penitencia qua obligavit Angliam solvere nongentas marcas annuatim sedi sue. Sed illi | A 60ª discredimus; cur igitur non isti, in quo contrariatur

And as he did not learn this doctrine from Scripture, so neither by revelation.

sanctis doctoribus? Item, cum non habuit ex se istam noticiam vel auctoritatem, oportet quod habeat ipsam a deo per scripturam vel inspiracionem; nulla scriptura sacra vadit ad hoc, cum regulariter et vere indubie vocat eukaristiam panem, et ad sensum alium | corpus B 69ᵇ Christi. Nec docetur revelacio, cum vite mundialitas et eius auctoritas, "in quo non fuit Est et Non" patule

It is not credible that this should have been revealed to Innocent now, and hidden for so long from so many Saints of the early church.

contradicant; nec est credibile quod ista quidditas hostie latuisset autores scripture et cunctos sanctos episcopos et doctores per mille annos et amplius; et secundo millenario quando solutus est pater mendacii, et clerus excidit a religione Christi, sit ista veritas fidei revelata. Volvat, inquam, homo sanctos primi millenarii, et non inveniet quod eukaristia sit quantitas vel qualitas sine subiecto, sed sepe contrarium; sed si hoc novissent, plus quam Innocencius ecclesie dixissent.

Digression on the ancient and present times. Of old, God stopped heretics' mouths. But at present the lying spirit has been loosed,

Unde deus obstruxit ora pape Innocencii et tocius secte sue precedentis et sequentis usque ad demonium meridianum, quod nullus eorum audebat asserere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Diebus autem nostris sunt magis laxata mendacia: in tantum,

1. deenarant B. 4, 5. prepoleant B. 11. dant B. 23. Et *deest* B. 27. scribere B. 28. in B. 36. subsequentes B.

6. Decr. Grat. 1ª Pars. Dist. IX, c. 10. 8. Aug. De Doctrina Christiana, l. II, c. 42. Migne, t. 34, p. 65. 11. Decr. Greg., lib. I, tit. 33, c. 6.

quod quidam doctor, cuius religio foret secundum veritatem pacis in claustro quiescere, docmatizavit publice Oxonie scolam patris mendacii quod in multis casibus licitum et meritorium est mentiri. Licet autem in primo millenario erant cum sanctis multi heretici, qui repre- A 60[b] hensibiliter per | sanctos doctores in mendacio sunt signati; non tamen in comparacione ad tempus secundi millenarii, cum tot sunt symoniaci, quod inter centum hereticos vix unum fidelem invenies; et specialiter propter eos qui excusando et non reprobando consenciunt symonie. Illi autem sunt magis proditorie B 69[c] heretici | ex consensu, dicente decreto Innocencii, distinccione 83, capitulo, *Error,* "non caret scrupulo G. societatis occulte, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare". Ideo propheta precipit Ysaie LVIII: "Clama, ne cesses; Is. LVIII, 1 quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam et nuncia populo meo scelera eorum." Nunquam enim ab origine mundi fuit manifestius facinus, quam est hodie symonia; et plures defendentes et tacentes non legi, et per consequens non plures hereticos. Cuius magna causa est apostatarum taciturnitas. Unde in prima ciliade etatis ecclesie, mortuis quatuor magnis eius doctoribus, surrexit secta Machometi per instinctum unius cultoris signorum Sergii. Sed illi non erant ita copiose et regulariter heretici, sicut sunt hodie satrape irreligiosi ecclesie. Ideo illi nimirum infideliter commixti fidelibus instar aque fervide, in aura gelida refrigescere faciunt caritatem multorum, ut dicit Christus in ewangelio.

so that a certain doctor has taught at Oxford that a lie is often a good deed.

Heretics are multiplied, especially those who consent to simony.

"Not to hinder a crime gives a share in it.'

We ought to raise our voices with Isaiah against such manifest crime.

In the first millenary, Mahomet and Sergius did less harm than the present sects.

Sed, redeundo, dicitur quod decretum pape non asseruit sacramentum altaris esse accidens sine subiecto. Et ideo stultum foret mendacium illud sibi imponere et super illud aliud sibi mendacium cumulare; ut A 60[c] puta | quod sit qualitas aut quantitas sine subiecto. Et dictum pape potest glozari ut supra, sine hoc quod illud accidens ponatur eukaristia. Nam secundum inventores huius mendacii, accidens potest remanere sine subiecto pane remanente, suspensa illius accidentis

As a fact, the pope has not decreed that the Sacrament is an accident without subject

The doctrine of those who sustain this goes much farther than what he says.

7. ad comparacionem B; *ib.* secundi B. 14. manifeste C. 16. annuncia B. 21. ciliade *erased;* clade A. 24. irregulariter B. 30. astruit *omnes MSS.* 31—33. Et — subjecto *deest* ACD.

13. Decr. Grat. 1[a] Pars, Dist. LXXXIII, c. 3. 23. Wyclif often refers to the Mohammedan religion as a heretical sect. This point of view would be true enough, without the allusions to Sergius.

informacione, et remanente panis prima significacione; quomodo ergo concludunt ipsi ex dicto pape quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens?

Wyclif holds to Pope Nicolas' decree: "That the bread and wine are, not a mere sign, but Christ's body and blood". This doctrine ought to be maintained by all.

Ideo alias dixi, quod nolo contendere circa sensum pape in isto, sed in benedicto | decretali Nicolai secundi B 69[d] quiescere; De consecracione, distinccione II[a]. *Ego Berengarius*"; sicut prius dicit ecclesia, profiteor panem et vinum que in altari ponuntur esse post consecracionem, non solum sacramentum, sed corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi. Istam autem sentenciam confirmatam ex fide scripture, et expositam per quatuor magnos doctores ecclesie, debet doctor credere et populo predicare et non remanere in capitulo infidelium excedente symplices ydiotas, qui dicunt quod nec volunt nec sciunt dicere quid sit hostia consecrata.

The laity should know that the bread, transsubstantiated, becomes Christ's body.

Layci enim debent scire, quod est corpus Christi, et quod est panis, qui dum est sanctificatus convertitur et transsubstanciatur et fit corpus Christi; et qui non credit ac scit illud, non est dignus nomine sacerdotis.

The Pope's decree should be respected if he agrees with Scripture.

Quantum autem ad dicta papalia, dicitur, admittendo H. et honorando illa de quanto secundum aliquam scintillam veritatis sunt in scriptura fundabilia et non ultra.

Many think that he is often in disagreement. For instance, one of his positions about the Holy Trinity, at the Council of Lateran, seems to have no foundation in Scripture, in reason, or in the Fathers.

Unde videtur multis quod multa dicta huius pape nimis exiliter sunt fundata. Nam dicta sua posita de summa trinitate, capitulo *Firmiter,* que dicuntur facta A 60[d] in concilio Lateranensi, | videntur nimis levia, non fundata; ut in isto: Natura divina nec gignit nec gignitur"; quia nec fundatur istud in scriptura sacra nec in racione, nec in sanctis doctoribus. In scriptura sacra non, quia Ysaie LXVI dicit divina substancia: "Numquid ego qui alios parturire facio, sterilis ero?" Is. LXVI, 9 quasi diceret, ego natura divina communis tribus personis, prius produco verbum ad intra in patre, quam facio creaturam

14. excedentem CD. 24. sunt *deest* D. 30. dicit dicit ABD. 31. quod dicit B. 33. verba B.

6. Decr. Grat. 3[a] Pars, Dist. II, c. 42. 28. These *words,* as they stand, are not to be found either in the Decr. Greg. lib. I, tit. I, c. 1 or c. 2; though the c. 2 is obviously alluded to here. The Abbot Joachim had written a treatise against Peter Lombard, accusing the latter of making a fourth person of the Trinity: viz. the Divine Essence, common to the Three Persons. This treatise was condemned by the fourth Lateran council. C. 2 says: *Quaelibet trium personarum est illa res .... natura divina .... Et illa res non est generans, neque genita, nec procedens ....*

B 70ª aliquam parturire. | Nec est fundabile in scriptura sacra oppositum. Notaret igitur dictum beati Dyonisii in De divinis nominibus: "Non est", inquit, "audendum aliquid dicere vel cogitare de supersubstanciali et occulta divinitate, preter ea que nobis per sacras scripturas de deo divinitus sunt expressa." Melius igitur foret illum hominem in isto tacere et exequi decreta ewangelica de symonia ad correccionem ecclesie. Quantum ad raciones omnes palliantes eum per terminos ultimate abstraccionis, nescierunt evadere quin sicut natura divina producit universitatem creatam, sic producit filium ad intra sicut deus. Notaret igitur onerans ecclesiam docmatibus istis fantasticis, dictum beati Ambrosii dicentis: "Quid," inquit, "inveniri iniquius potest, quam simpliciter credere nolle quod lego et I. presumpsisse me velle credere quod non lego?" Et quantum ad testimonia sanctorum, patet quod Augustinus sepe concedit de deo, quod est substancia de substancia et essencia de essencia. Quid igitur moveret papam et concilium quorum mille non valerent in A 61ª materia fidei unum Augustinum, sic temere diffinire | quod nesciunt? Numquid credimus favorem Petri Lumbardi, quia episcopus Parisiensis, et odium abbatis Joachim, quia detexit defectus Romane ecclesie, movere ad onus ecclesie, ut condempnetur veritas et falsitas confirmetur? Et quantum ad obiecta est pudor eis ipsos detegere. Et eodem modo sentitur de ista blasphemia decretali de maioritate et obediencia, capitulo *Solite*, et de illa lege iniqua de pena et remissis, capitulo *Omnis utriusque sexus,* cum aliis que iste papa instituit; sic non est color sed blasfemia, quod si Romanus pontifex quicquam instituit, tunc est iustum. Sed est argumentum topicum, quod si quicquam preter scripturam

But the contrary opinion is no better grounded.

Better pursue simoniacs, who try to elude the Church's decisions by all subtleties, than teach mysteries about the production of the Word in God.

Besides, the Council seems to contradict Augustin, who is worth a thousand of those doctors.

Was it love for Peter Lombard or hatred of Abbot Joachim, that made them promulgate it? This were shameful.

That all things decreed by the Roman Pontiff are right is blasphemy;

1. fundabile C. 2. omnium B. 3. audiendum *omnes MSS.* 7. ista B. 9. quam B. 14. dicentis sic B. 19. de essencia *deest* D. 20. valent B. 21. quod *deest* D. 23. et . . . . Joachim *deest* BCD. 24. onere D. 25. falsitas ut D. 26. objectus *omnes MSS.* 27—31. decretali . . . blasfemia *deest* ACD. 32. multum D.

3. St. Dionysius Areop. De Divinis nominibus, c. 1. See Migne's Series Graeca, t. 3, c. 586. 22. For Joachim abbot of Flora in Calabria, see *Biographie Universelle.* It is worth notice that the condemnation in question took place in 1215, 13 years after his death. He does not seem to have been disliked at Rome, for Clement IV. in 1360, took the first steps towards his canonisation; and though he was never formally canonised, services are allowed in his honour on the 29th of May.

it is probable that whatever he decrees beyond Scripture is false.

If he defines the sense of Scripture, we should inquire how far he agrees with the Fathers.

decreverit, tunc est falsum. | In hiis vero que nescit (B 70b) celaret vel publicaret suam ignoranciam et non in fide ambiguorum oneraret ecclesiam. Ymmo fideles non attenderent dicta sua, nisi de quanto ipsa in scriptura fundaverit. Quod si sensum ponit scripture, videndum est de fundacione sensus, quomodo concordat cum sanctis doctoribus primi millenarii etatis ecclesie; si extraneat vel discordat ab eis, est suspectus; et specialiter si urget fideles sibi credere. Nec valet sed inficit allegacio auctoritatis sciencie vel potestatis paparum, qui debent sine pompa veritatem suam ostendere instar beati Petri, et quod ex eleccione dei sunt immediati Petri vicarii.

The antiquity of the See of Rome proves nothing in favour of its holiness or its science. The patriarchs were before Christ. If nearness to Christ before his coming, and distance after, brought sanctity, we should have absurd results. God gives us light according to our holiness.

Nec movet antiquitas temporum, quod sint in sanctitate et sciencia prepollentes; quia ex fide patet quod in medio temporum incarnata est lux vera sapiencia dei patris, et ante ipsam precesserunt Adam, Noe et Abraham; post | ipsos vero Moyses, David et prophete, (A 61b) post Christum vero successerunt apostoli, martires et confessores. Unde insania est credere, quod proporcionabiliter ut prelati sunt ante Christum tempore sibi propiores, et post Christum tempore tardiores, sic sunt sancciores; quia sic Caifas excederet Moysen et regulariter nostri episcopi Augustinum. Cum autem deus sit lumen liberum illuminans, copiosius illuminat in fructuosa sciencia quemcunque qui ipsum propinquius imitatur in moribus.

6. quem D. 18. vere ACD. 20. insanie *omnes MSS.* 23, 24. regulariter *deest* B.

CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

Objection from the Fathers refuted. If Christ were only on the altar in presence or figuratively he would be equally present in Holy Writ, or in the doors through which he passed.

Sed obicitur per doctores primi millenarii. Videtur B 70c enim quod aliter sit corpus Christi in | altari quam presencia vel significacione; quia aliter foret eque vere in aliis signis suis: ut puta in scriptura, in ianuis per quas intravit et in corpore celesti quod penetravit in ascensione. Et non solum hoc, sed corpus Christi foret a pari omnia illa corpora, cum mille aliis inconveniencciis que secuntur.

Answer. One chief point is forgotten here: That according to Augustine, not any bread becomes Christ's sacramental body, but that which is blessed; and that Christ, said of that bread: *This is my body;* and not of the other things.

Hic dicitur quod pluries ista obiciunt, sed dimittunt radicem; cum igitur conceditur quod "non omnis panis, sed panis benediccionem accipiens sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi", quia Christus hoc dicit. Et sic intelligi potest Augustinus 3°. *De trinitate*, capitulo 7°, quando dicit, "Apostolus Paulus potuit signando predicare dominum Jesum Christum et aliter per linguam, aliter per epistolam, aliter per sacramentum corporis et sanguinis eius: nec linguam quippe eius, nec membranas et atramentum, nec signantes sonos lingua editos, nec signa literarum que scripta sunt pelliculis, corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus, sed illud tantum quod A 61c ex fru | ctibus terre acceptum et prece mistica consecratum, rite sumimus ad salutem;" cuius causa videtur quod Christus qui mentiri non potest, panem illum dixit corpus suum, sed non sic alia recitata.

It is His body, not identically, but in figure.

Ideo illum modum sacramentalem essendi dicit Damascenus esse inexplicabilem. Est itaque hoc sacramentum corpus Christi non ydemptitate, sed figurative. Ideo dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone de corpore

4. vere *deest* CD. 10. pueriles ACD. 20. corporis B. 24. quia B.

6. The crystalline spheres and the *primum mobile,* believed to be solid. 14. Aug. De Trinitate, lib. III, c. IV (t. 42, p. 873, 874 of Migne).

Christi: "Corpus Christi est veritas et figura est veritas, dum corpus et sanguis virtute ipsius, in verbo ipsius panis et vini substancia efficitur. | Figura vero est illud B 70[d] quod exterius sentitur." Et idem patet super titulum B. psalmi XV. Nec audivi aliquem sane intelligere, quin id quod Augustinus dicit esse corpus Christi et sanguinem quod est "ex fructibus terre acceptum et prece mistica consecratum", debet esse panis aut vinum verbis sacramentalibus consecratum. Unde, ut recitatur de Consecracione, distinccione 2[a], Augustinus dicit, quod "non omnis panis, sed qui accipit benediccionem a Christo, fit corpus Christi."

Augustine, saying: "What is of the fruits of the earth, taken and consecrated by a mystic prayer, is the body and blood of Christ": evidently means bread and wine.

Unde solebam describere sacramentum siccum, album et rotundum, quod est panis, factus per verba sacramentalia corpus Christi. Et sacramentum calicis est vinum, factum per verba sacramentalia sanguis Christi. Unde nulli dubium, qui vidit dicta Augustini et novit verba philosophorum, quod Augustinus non intelligit per id quod ex fructibus terre acceptum est aliquod novem generum accidentis, quia notum est, quod nec quantitas, nec qualitas illa fuit accepta ex fructibus terre, cum sepe tam qualitas quam quantitas variata est, sed essencia naturalis | , que quondam fuit in terre A 61[d] fructibus, componit panem sanctificatum. Et inpertinens ac irracionabile foret credere accidens esse per se prece mistica consecratum; sed totum ministerium iacet in pane et vino, cuius sentencia est hodie omissa.

Wyclif's description of the Sacrament under its two forms.

None of the nine sorts of accidents were 'taken from the fruits of the earth', and 'consecrated with mystic prayer'.

Sed difficultas est utrum quelibet pars mundi, cum habet humanitatem Christi sibi presentem, et sit signum Christi efficax, sit quodammodo ipse Christus. Et videtur quod sic racione *a simili* et ex textu apostoli quem indubie dicit Christus Cor. XV et Coloc. III, quod post diem iudicii Christus erit omnia in omnibus: ex quo | B 71[a] sequitur, quod tunc omnes essencie erunt Christus. Et C. confirmatur ex hoc quod Christus erit humanitus ad omnem punctum mundi; sed ubicunque erit humanitus, erit aliquid ibi existens; igitur Christus ad omnem punctum mundi erit aliquid ibi existens. Ex quibus cum veris infertur, quod sicut in sacramento altaris

A question: whether in Wyclif's theory any part of the world, since Christ is present, may rightly be called Christ? After the judgment Christ will be all in all; therefore all will be Christ, His humanity existing through all space.

1. et *omnes MSS.* 2. in verbo *deest* D. 3. in verbo ipsius *post* efficitur D. 20. nomen D; *ib.* accidere B. 25. omne *pro* esse CD. 27. amissa B. 29. sit *deest* CD. 30. sit propterea B. 33. in *deest* AB. 37. aliud CD. 37, 38. igitur — existens *deest* B.

32. I. Cor. XV, 28. Col. III, 11.

Christus multiplicatur et est ipsa hostia, ita post diem iudicii erit omnia; nam in qualibet creatura beati videbunt humanitatem Christi, clarius quam nunc videmus in sacramento altaris. Quo ad istud dico opinative citra fidem, quod aliquod istorum trium probabiliter posset dici; *primo*, quod Christus, secundum significacionem et non secundum substanciam, erit tunc omnes et singule creature; ut est tactum. Vel, *secundo*, quod erit omnia genera creaturarum in beatis ad sensum expositum; sed non erit aliquis dyabolus vel dampnatus. Vel *tercio*, quod erit omne genus hominum in memoris suis per assimilacionem; homo enim vocatur in ewangelio omnis creatura, et quodlibet membrum Christi dicitur quodammodo ipse Christus. Nam nimis leve videtur quod Christus erit omnia, hoc est ydee, que sunt omnia, quia hoc necessario est semper.

Wyclif's opinion (*not* belief).
1st That Christ will then be all things but only metaphorically.
2nd He will be all things in the Blessed only.
3rd That by union with them He will be the whole human race.

A 62a D. | Sed, dimisso isto sensu, ad hoc michi opinabiliter notandus est auctor Ambrosius in libro suo De divinis officiis, vel ut aliis placet, autor De divinis officiis, qui cepit istam sentenciam de beato Ambrosio, ut probabiliter creditur, ex secreto medie misse natalis domini. Unde vidi librum solemnem et antiquum intitulatum: "Ambrosius, de divinis officiis." Scribit autem iste doctor catholicus et solemnis, quicunque fuerit, capitulo, B 71b *de sacramento altaris* sic: "Materia | ," inquit, "vel substancia sacrificii quod erat tunc, et nunc est in manibus pontificis nostri, non simpla est, sicut nec pontifex ipse solius divine vel humane solius substancie est; est enim tam in pontifice, quam in sacrificio divina substancia. Est et terrena; terrena in utroque est illud quod corporaliter vel localiter videri potest; divina in utroque verbum invisibile, quod in principio erat deus, aput deum; nam cum diceret idem magnus pontifex, panem et vinum tenens: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus;* vox erat verbi incarnati, vox

Return to main point; De Divinis officiis quoted at length.

'The matter of the sacrifice, like the nature of Christ, is not simple: for in both there is the divine and the terrestrial nature.
In both, that which is seen is terrestrial.
When Christ said: This, etc. he *joined* the bread to His flesh.

5. potest B. 17. opinabili ACD. 18. beatus Ambrosius BD. 19. vel — officiis *deest* CD. 21. dominii *omnes MSS.* 28. solus ACD.

20. The book entitled *De Divinis Officiis* was ascribed to Alcuin, but was probably by a later writer. (See Migne. Patr., t. 101, p. 1173.) But this passage does not occur in the work; there is not even a chapter of that name; so it is probable, as will be seen later, that Wyclif's copy was much interpolated; and as this passage is really worthy of the best times of the Church, it may have been written by Ambrose. 21. Secr. ad Missam in Aurora, die Nat. Dom. (Missale Sarum.)

eterni principii, verbum antiqui consilii, verbum quod humanam acceperat naturam, idem in carne manens, panis et vini accipiebat substanciam, vita media, panem cum sua carne, vinum cum suo iungebat sanguine;

as air and thought, joined by the tongue, make speech.

quem ad modum in corporis sensibus menti et corpulento aeri, media lingua intervenit et, utrumque coniungens, unum sermonem efficit: quo in aures demisso, id quod audibile est cito absumitur et | transit; A 62^{b} sensus autem sermonis et in dicente et in eo qui audit integer permanet et inconsumptus.

When the priest distributes the sacrament, the bread and wine is consumed, but the Virgin's Son, with the Word of the Father remains;

Sic verbum patris carni et sanguini quem de utero virginis assumpserat et pani ac vino quod de altari sumitur, medium interveniens, unum sacramentum efficit; quod cum in ora fidelium sacerdos distribuit, panis et vinum absumitur et transit. Partus autem virginis cum unito sibi verbo patris et in celo et in hominibus integer permanet et E. inconsumptus;

while the unbeliever perceives only the appearances of bread and wine.

sed in illo in quo fides non est preter | B 71^{c} visibiles species panis et vini nichil de sacrificio pervenit: quem ad modum asinus ad liram, cum irracionales aures erigit, sonum quidem audit, sed modum cantilene non percipit."

He again speaks of the 'visible bread that came up out of the earth' and of the 'invisible bread that came down from heaven' as being 'one bread'.

Et paulo post: "Panis," inquit, "invisibilis, qui de celo descendit vita est; panis visibilis qui de terra crevit, unus tamen panis est, quomodo qui de celo descendit et qui conceptus est et natus de utero virginis, Christus unus est. Qua propter qui visibilem panem sacrificii comedit et invisibilem a corde suo non credendo expellit, Christum occidit, quia vitam a vivificato seiungit, et dentibus suis laniat mortuum corpus sacrificii, atque per hoc reus est corporis et sanguinis domini.

Answering the objection: How can Christ live where there is no motion? He says: 'There is spiritual life and animal life, the latter consisting in the five senses.

Sed dicit adversarius: vivens et sensibilis in corpore suo mobilisque est deus et homo Christus; corpus autem sacrificii vitam non habet, mobile non est. Hoc assumpto, concludit sic: Corpus igitur domini non est, Christus non est. Ad hec, inquam, obse | cro te, quam in corpore domini vitam A 62^{c} requiris; est enim vita animalis, est et vita spiritualis;

But the latter is of no avail. If the Jews had carnally eaten Christ's body, it would not have profited them; on the contrary.

vita animalis quinque sensibus fungitur: visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu. Hec vita animalis est, carnalis est, caro est. Dominus autem dicit quia *caro non prodest quicquam*. Si enim Judei carnem quam crucifixerunt comedere et devorare sicut carnem agni maluis- Jo. VI, 64

2. huiusmodi B. 12. medium *deest* B. 13. sacrificium B. 16. et *deest* D. 24. qui *deest* B. 28. a vivificativo A. 34. hoc *pro* hec B. 35. quomodo B.

sent, aut potuissent integram vivamque absorbere, sicut [B 71ᵈ] cetus maris viventem absorbuit | Jonam, nichil illis profuisset; ymo maiori sacrilegio consciencias suas polluissent. Animalis igitur vita, quia caro est, si in corpore domini adesset, nichil nobis prodesset; ac per hoc istam requirere superfluum est. Numquid celestis homo per sacrificium hic administraret, quod nobis non deerat? non enim prudencie eius est curiositatem nostram non necessariis pascere miraculis. Querebat hoc curiosus Herodes, quando erat *ex multo tempore cupiens* [Luc. XXIII, 8, 11] *Jesum videre, quia sperabat signum aliquod ab eo fieri;* quod quia non fecit *sprevit illum, et remisit indutum alba veste.* Solam igitur vitam spiritualem in sacrificio nobis administrare sapienciam eius decebat, et nostre necessitati expediebat, que est sanctificacio et benediccio, misericordia et veritas et pax. Hec autem eius vita spiritualis sic est in corpore sacrificii, absque vita [A 62ᵈ] eius animali, quomodo lux solis absque colore eius | in corpore lune nobis presentatur. Igitur hiis pariter ex rebus sacrificium nobis construxit summus pontifex, quibus totus homo vegetatur, id est, ex verbo dei, in quo vivit homo, et ex terre fructibus quibus solum vivit corpus; hiis dumtaxat, qui omnium primi sunt. Panis enim eorum, que ad esum, vinum eorum que ad potum pertinent, primum est".

Animal life would only have satisfied curiosity; and Christ would not satisfy the curiosity of Herod.

That we get only spiritual life from the sacrament was ordained by His wisdom; the Word feeds the soul; and the fruit of the earth, the body.

F. Ex istis verbis doctoris Ambrosii precipui seu sui discipuli, patet sentencia sepe dicta. Unde in doctoribus non incarceratis in claustro secundum tradiciones humanas viguit fides eukaristie secundum aliquid; ut [B 72ᵃ] patet de quatuor magnis doctoribus, | et specialiter de dicto Ambrosio in primo millenario, et de hesternis doctoribus, licet nimis seductis. Henricus Gawnt dicit vere quod remanet post consecracionem quedam "panis aliquitas"; et Ardmachanus dicit cum Ambrosio, Jeronimo et Johanne Damasceno quod panis demonstratur pronomine verbi Christi: "hoc est corpus meum"; et ita sensit balbuciens glossa ordinaria, super capitulo *Non omnis panis* de consecratione, distinccione 2ª.

All this confirms our doctrine. The four great doctors of the first ten centuries agree with him.

So do others: e. g. Henry of Ghent, Fitz-Ralph, and the Gloss.

13. spiritualem *in marg.* A; *deest* CD. 18. calore CD. 20. instruxit B. 25. sunt B. 32. seductus Henricus gawnt D; Gawnt de Gandano B.

32. Henry Goethals of Ghent, a pupil of Albert the Great and a fellow-pupil of Aquinas, was born in 1217, and died in 1293. Author of a work on Theology in three folio vols. See Valère André, *Bibliotheca Belgica,* p. 445; *Nouvelle Biographie générale,* t. XXI.

It is therefore doubtless that Christ made the bread to be His Body.

Blindness of the second thousand years.

Digression concerning the binding of Satan, which means the less or greater power he has to tempt men.

Et correspondenter indubie oportet dicere de nostra proposicione sacramentali quod Christus demonstrat panem, quem fecit corpus suum.

Et talis cecitas contigit post ligacionem sathane mille annis pro tempore solucionis sue, de quibus Apok. XX. Pro quo notandum primo quod ligacio sathane ac eius solucio non erunt nisi restriccio et laxacio potestatis sue ad temptandum et seducendum populum | Christianum. A 63ª Secundo notandum est dictum spiritus sancti Apok. XX ubi dicit sathanam esse ligandum mille annis; et, post solvendum magnum populum, seducturum per Gog et Magog, de quibus Ezech. XXXVII. G. Sed tercio notandum secundum Augustinum, 20 *De civitate Dei*, capitulo 9, pro intellectu prophecie Johannis, quod per illos mille annos quibus ligatus est Sathanas, probabilius intelligi potest sextus millenarius, in quo natus est Christus. (Ezech. XXXVIII)

According to Augustine, the 'thousand years' means most probably the sixth thousand, when Christ was born.

Constat autem secundum catholicos calculantes quod fluxerunt quinque etates mundi terminate ad Noe, Abraham, David, transmigracionem et Christum; et currebant in illa etate quinque millia annorum; et amplius secundum varie calculantes fideliter annuunt Christum natum in 6° millenario | etatis mundi. B 72ᵇ

He says that as Adam was created and fell on the sixth day it was fitting that Christ should come in the sixth age of the world.

Quod, secundum Augustinum, fuit consonum, quia sicut in fabrica mundi in principio primus Adam fuit 6ᵗᵒ die creatus et perditus, ut patet Genes. I et III, sic secundus Adam in 6ᵗᵒ millenario etatis mundi fuit natus de virgine, et per ipsum primus Adam cum genere suo est redemptus; ita quod millenarius annorum correspondeat diei in prima seculi septimana.

Christ, the strong man armed, took possession of the sixth age.

Christus igitur, fortis armatus, pro suo millenario custodivit atrium domus sue: et ideo dicitur, Luc. XI°: "Cum fortis armatus custodit atrium, in pace sunt omnia que possidet." (Luc. XI, 21) Licet enim sathan dissolutus sit ad tempus modicum in 6ᵗᵒ millenario, movens membra sua ad occidendum Christum, sicut sexto | die solutus fuit ad A 63ᵇ temptandum primum parentem, hoc tamen fuit ad comodum domus Christi. Nec sic seducti erant de H.

1. deberet CD. 5. 2° D. 7. relaxacio B. 18. quod *deest* CD; *ib.* a *pro* ad B. 24. fabrice ACD; in *deest* ACD. 31. Dum ACD.

25. It was believed during the Middle Ages that Adam was only 7 hours in Paradise. Cf. Dante, *Paradise*, XXVI, v. 139 and seq. Cary's note quotes Petrus Comestor: "*Quidam tradunt eos fuisse in Paradise septem horas*". 26. Aug. De Trinitate, t. IV, c. 4. (t. 42, p. 892, of Migne).

familia domus dei, ideo omnia que Christus possidet ad beatitudinem sunt in pace, ut patet de apostolis, martiribus, confessoribus et virginibus: quantum parietibus domus sue. Illi enim purgantur et meliorantur tribulacionibus, quas ex membris dyaboli paciuntur; heretici enim et presciti non sunt de familia Christi, licet Gog et Magog Christianos simplices persequantur. Gog enim qui interpretatur *tectum* secundum doctores catholicos, signat antichristum; quia secundum leges quas invenit, palliat et *tegit* eclypsacione dampnabili legem Christi, et introducit sectas dampnabiles, qui ut loquitur Jacobus, quasi velamen habentes malicie libertatem, in ypocrisi decipiunt Christianos. Hii sunt qui B 72c blasfeme preponderant religionem | quam statuunt supra religionem Christi, quam in quantitate et figura ac colore corruptibilis habitus et non in vita Christi et moribus palliant sectam suam; hii gerunt velamen per quod excecant simplices et in velamine docent in eis malicie libertatem. Et error in hiis signis adinvencionum religionis private, sicut et heresis symonie necessitando precesserant errorem de accidentibus sacramenti. Magog autem qui interpretatur *de tecto*, signat complices antichristi, cuiusmodi est tota secta sua, sive sint A 63c legiste de scola sua, sive seculares domini | , qui per Magog, id est Antichristi complices, sunt seducti, sive religiosi possessionati vel exproprietarii, qui tenent cum Gog et celant et tegunt legem Christi. Lex vero perfecte libertatis docet omnes Christianos debere sequi Christum, sine velamine tegentes eius vestigia, sic quod humilior, pauperior et in nomine Christi ordinate faciens quicquid fecerit devocior, dicitur ex fide ewangelii esse maior. Sed Gog et Magog simulant quod, ut sunt mundo maiores, plus solemnes et cupidi, sunt ex institucione sua aput deum maiores; licet sint membra dyaboli tegentes, ut plurimum, viam Christi. Et ista I. infidelitas Antichristi nimis perturbat ecclesiam; nam ex fide capimus, quod nullus ducatus vel papatus in mundo per se prodest, sed obest fidelibus, nisi de quanto servavit et tenendam docuerit viam Christi. Gog autem cum tota secta sua facit oppositum. Cum enim Matth. XII, 30 Christus dicit: "Qui non est mecum contra me est," B 72d patet quod dicit: Gog in vita | et doctrina non observat

Though the devil was loosed for a while, it was for the good of the Church, which triumphed by its Saints.

Gog, whose name means a *roof*, is the Antichrist; because he will *cover* the law of Christ with damnable excuses.

Of such are those who prefer their private religion to Christ's, thus bearing a veil to blind the simple.

Magog, whose name means 'of a roof' signifies the accomplices of Antichrist, and comprises all those who hide the law of Christ. This law teaches all Christians to follow Christ's footsteps without a veil.

Worldly and greedy, these men claim to be great with God.

This infidelity troubles the Church exceedingly; for the pope does rather harm than good, unless he keeps to the path of Christ; from which Gog and his sect go astray.

11. quia ACD. 19. ad invencionum D. 22. deteccio B. 23. modi *deest* B. 26. ut D. 33, 34. instinccione CD. 36. fidelitas D. 39. servaverit CD.

precipue vitam et legem Christi; non est Christi vicarius, B. sed de dyaboli familia mendacissimus Antichristus.

If the 'thousand years' mean all the devil's reign, St. Augustine has nothing against this.

Si autem per mille annos intelligatur universitas temporis per quod dyabolus sic regnavit in Gog et Magog, sanctus doctor non contradicit; sic tamen quod nullus fidelis sequatur prelatum, nisi de quanto tenuerit et docuerit viam Christi; quia aliter tegit, obliquat et obnubilat viam ad patriam. Et perfecta libertas foret carere tali preposito. Ymo | videtur, quod quicunque A 63ª scienter communicat cum tali heretico, sit excommunicatus a deo. Brachium autem seculare conculcans talem hereticum, non communicat eius operibus, sed extinguit.

We must stick to the form of Scripture words. It is better to say simply that Satan is to be bound a thousand years.

Cum itaque fidelis debet tenere formam verborum scripture sacre cum sensu catholico, quod est longe melius quam vagari in sensu ambiguo, negatis verbis; patet quod catholicus debet concedere sathanam ligari mille annis, ut dicit prophetia Johannis, et post solvi et per Gog et Magog seducere multas gentes. Sive autem per illos mille annos intelligatur sextus millenarius in quo natus est Christus, sive universitas temporis in quo sua malicia reprimetur, potest utrumque intelligi satis catholice. Concedamus igitur formam verborum fidei quam Christus instituit, quia ipsa multum excedit formam verborum, quam extraneando scimus adicere. Item ob- K. servacio illius forme adducit in sensum quem deus intendit, unde ydiote presbiteri observant hanc formam meritorius sine sensu quam despicientes hanc formam circa sensum curiose | vagando. B 73ª

If we keep to this rule, we are not likely to go astray.

This rule applies to the Eucharist too.

Item, si licet fideli hanc formam abicere, licet totam scripturam sacram corrigere et magnam eius partem tanquam hereticam condempnare. Sic enim concedunt socii quidam, quod hereticum et impossibile est panem et vinum remanere post consecracionem. Sed moderni socii dicunt concorditer, de quo | gaudeo, quod panis A 64ª et vinum sanctificata sunt hoc sacramentum. Et nullus eorum audet dicere fidem, que inponitur sancto Thome et doctoribus de ordine fratrum minorum. Ex confessione itaque eorum sequitur, quod panis et vinum remanent post consecracionem; quod concedunt, sed negant quod natura panis remanet sacramentum, sed ille panis est accidens, nesciunt cuius generis. Contra hoc primo

There are some that, holding to this rule, say that the bread and wine remain after consecration, contrary to what is ascribed to St. Thomas; but that the bread itself becomes an accident.

4. regnat ACD. 5. tamen *deest* D. 25. inducit B. 31, 32. condempnare et impossibile est panem et socii CD. 31. Sic — concedunt *deest* C.

manifeste patet, quod si natura istius albi remanet et hoc album est panis, tunc natura panis remanet. Item, cum nec sit fundabile in scriptura sacra nec in dictis sanctorum de sexto millenario, quod panis ille sit quantitas aut qualitas, vel alicuius generis accidentis, videtur presumptuosa stulticia glozare sic fidem scripture, per unum insolitum et infundabile. Securum igitur est quiescere in nomine panis concesso ab omnibus Christianis, quousque glossa illa per impossibile sit educta.

But this is evidently false, and has no foundation either in Scripture or in the early Fathers. It is safer to keep to the word bread, without these explanations.

L. Item, vel est panis ille corpus Christi vel non. Si sic, non est fundabile quod ille sit quantitas aut qualitas: nec est exponentis glossare speciem limitatam per unum analogum, cuius pars que est genus generalissimum plus quam exponenda species specialissima ignoratur. Nam hoc foret remocius quam sic dicere: "panis est corpus Christi", hoc est: "substancia est corpus Christi": quod tamen foret nimis remotum, exponere speciem specialissimam propter suum genus generalissimum: longe plus michi foret alienum exponere B 73b speciem specialissimam per unum ana | logum sibi extraneum, cum illa significacio non fundatur. Si autem A 64b ne | gatur panem illum qui est sacramentum esse corpus Christi, inciditur in errorem Berengarii renovatam per Romanam ecclesiam, ut patet De Consecracione distinccione 2ª. *Ego Beringarius*, quod est contra fidem scripture, et quatuor magnos doctores. Videat igitur fidelis et iudicet inter ista: textus fidei scripture dicit quod panis est sacramentum altaris et corpus Christi: textus autem alius, fictus et non fundatus, simulat quod non panis, sed unum genus accidentis ignotum, est sacramentum altaris.

If the bread is the body of Christ, it is not an accident.

It were better to say: "Bread i. e. substance is the body of Christ." For that were nearer than to say: Bread (i. e. an accident).

And if the bread is not Christ's body, Berengarius' error is renewed.

Secundo fidelis dicit quod secta ista intelligit per accidens per se non accidens sed panem et vinum, quorum consideracio est sopita. Sed adversarius scripture sine evidencia dicit se intelligere per panem accidens sine subiecto, quod secundum precipuos doctores M. non potest adeo intelligi. Et tercio fidelis glosat dicta dicencium, quod accidens est sine subiecto, hoc est, sine subiecto suo principaliter: et sic de consideracione fidelium existente. Sed adversarius dicit, quod tam

If by "accident" the *nature* of bread and wine is meant, how can it be without a subject?

And if it be said: without a subject *in the minds of the faithful*, the distinction is disallowed.

9. edocta ACD. 10. vel B. 24. ut *deest* B. 37. glossa B. 38, 39. hoc — principaliter *deest* ACD.

24. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars, Dist. II, c. 42.

autenticum dictum intelligi debet omnino sine glossa. Et sic qui concedunt quod sacramentum altaris est panis factus sacramentaliter corpus Christi, dicunt honorabilius quidditatem sacramenti, quam illi qui fingunt quod est accidens sine subiecto. Nam populus et mille episcopi nec intelligunt accidens nec subiectum; quomodo igitur introduceretur preter fidem scripture tam extranea et impossibilis novitas ad difficultandum fideles specialiter? cum illud accidens quod vocant panem sit infinitum inperfeccioris nature quam panis materialis. Non est igitur honor vocare illud accidens corpus Christi, vocandus est itaque panis ce | lestis, sicut vocat | Augustinus, non inperfeccior in natura quam panis materialis, sicut fingunt, quod corpus Christi sit abiectissimum in natura.

We speak more honourably of the sacrament, saying that its quiddity is bread, i. e. a substance.

An accident has the lowest possible quiddity.

A 64[c] B 73[c]

Conveniencia itaque duarum sectarum istius materie stat in isto quod utraque concedit panem sensibilem esse tam sacramentum altaris quam eciam corpus Christi. Sed diversificatur in sentencia, cum nostra secta dicit quod hoc sacramentum est in natura substancia panis corporaliter motiva, sicut dicit autor "De divinis officiis" superius recitatus; sed secta contraria dicit, quod panis ille est accidens per se sine subiecto; et sic intelligitur, ut inquit, quelibet scriptura sacra vocans sacramentum altaris panem. Sed hoc videtur michi difficile propter tria; primo, quia secundum beatum Jeronimum, quicunque pertinaciter exposuerit sacram scripturam aliter quam spiritus sanctus flagitat est hereticus; sed spiritus ille veritatis non flagitat in predictis scripturis fidei illum sensum: igitur etc. Minor patet ex illo Luc. XXIV. "Cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis"; et ex illo 1 Cor. X: "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicacio corporis domini est"; et ex illo 1 Cor. XI°. "Probet autem se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat." Secundo movet me quod magni sancti qui exposuerunt fidem scripture pro millenario veritatis Christi, quando ligatus est pater mendacii, exposuerunt illam fidem scripture ad sensum contrarium: ut patet ex dictis Ambrosii in multis locis. Et tercio movet me horror in con-

Both our opinion and theirs hold that the bread is the body of Christ.

But ours makes it natural bread; and the other, an accident without subject.

N.

But, 1st it is heretical to expound Scripture contrary to the Spirit.

Quotations to prove that this is not the sense intended.

I. Cor. X, 16 and XI, 28

2nd The Early Fathers expounded Scripture otherwise.

3rd Many absurdities flow from this theory.

5. apostolus B. 10. quasi D. 13. quasi D. 29. in — scripturis *deest* B. 32. Panem CD; *ib.* cui benedicimus B. 33. corporis *deest* D. 35. exposuerant ACD.

26. Jeron. Comment. in Jeremiam, l. 5, c. XXIX (t. 24, p. 859 of Migne).

veniencium que sequuntur; inter que hoc unum recito,
quod panis qui est sacramentum altaris et per con-
A 64^{d} sequens corpus Christi, est infinitum | inperfeccius in
natura quam panis materialis non consecratus quem
B 73^{d} pistor efficit vel quam mice | quas edunt catelli de
mensa dominorum; vel eciam quam minuta cuiuscunque
abiecti panis extrahendi de pera pauperis peregrini, quia
est panis abiectissimus quem deus umquam potuit pro-
creare. Que si ego pertinaciter defenderem, forem tan-
quam hereticus comburendus, quia in precipua fide
scripture "hoc est corpus meum", fingerem sensum
iuxta quem deus faceret ignotum accidens corpus suum.

For instance, that the bread which is Christ's body, is much more imperfect in itself than common bread.

Which if I defended, I ought to be burnt as a heretic.

4. quasi *pro* quam D. 5. quem *pro* quam C; *ib.* catuli B. 7. extrahendum ABC; *corr.* D. 8. deus *deest* D.

CAPITULUM SEPTUM.

Some say: Christ is received under the appearance of bread: these are now to be confuted. They allege the liturgy and Augustine.

Sed ulterius arguitur per beatum Gregorium et usum ecclesie, qui dicunt quod corpus Christi in altari sumitur in forma, specie, vel similitudine panis, que non possunt poni nisi accidencia et eukaristia: unde *De Cons.* distincione 2, capitulo: *Species.* "Species et similitudo illarum rerum vocabula sunt, que ante fuerunt: scilicet panis et vini. Unde in fine cuiusdam misse oratur et dicitur: *Perficiant in nobis domine quesumus tua sacramenta que continent, ut que nunc sub specie panis et vini gerimus rerum veritate capiamus.*" Et eadem videtur sentencia Augustini in libello, *De Eukaristia;* ubi dicitur ibi scribi. "Nec dubitare debet aliquis, quin panis et vinum convertantur in veram substanciam Christi, ita ut non remaneat substancia panis et vini; cum multa eciam alia in operibus dei non minus miranda videmus; hominem enim substancialiter mutat deus in lapidem, ut uxorem Loth; et in parvo artificio hominis fenum et silicem in vitrum. Nec credendum quod substancia panis | A 65a et vini remaneat, sed panis in corpus Christi et vinum in sangwinem mutatur, solum qualitatibus panis et vini remanentibus."

Especially in his work, 'De Eucharistia'.

But the minor of their argument (i. e. Augustine and the Liturgy *mean what we mean*') is false. They do not even know what they mean, and their words are like those of magpies.

Hic dicitur, quod minor est falsa. Unde musitantes B. super isto instruerent scolam fidelium | de significacione B 74a forme, speciei et similitudinis, quia aliter vere diceretur quod sicut loquuntur ut pice, ignorantes quid sit sacramentum altaris, ita voces ignorant proprias de nominibus harum rerum. Conceditur igitur quod corpus Christi sumitur in forma, specie et similitudine panis, ut dicit

3. que *pro* qui B. 5. poni *deest* D. 7. autem AC. 9. Proficiant B. 11. genus B; *ib.* veritatem B. 14. convertatur B. 18. in *deest* D. 19. filicem ACD. 26. est *pro* sit ABC.

6. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars. Dist. II, c. 34. 9. St. Greg. Lib. Sacrament. Sabb. in XII lect. (t. 78, p. 142 of Migne). *Also,* Postcom. Sabb. IV Temp. Septembris (Sarum Missal; Dickinson, p. 550).

decretum Gregorii, sed constat quod ex illo non sequitur quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens per se sine subiecto, vel quod nec panis nec vinum remanet sacramentum; sed bene infertur oppositum. Sequitur enim: species et similitudo sunt vocabula panis et vini que ante fuerunt, ergo remanent panis et vinum que ante fuerunt; quia aliter forent nimis falsa vocabula rerum que non possunt esse: que foret conclusio ydiote. Et sic sub specie panis et vini gerimus hic figuram esus celestis, quo manducabimus in patria visione beatifica loco fidei corpus Christi.

Christ is indeed received under the appearance of bread.

But if the appearance correspond to that which was before, then the bread really does remain.

Et quantum ad allegatum de beato Augustino videtur tam ex stilo quam ex sentencia quod nunquam erant ista verba vel sentencia Augustini, quia nec sunt in legibus vel posterioribus doctoribus communiter allegata; sed eorum opposita in libris Augustini communibus C. crebrius inculcata. Ideo dicunt quidam quod ista sunt verba cuiusdam gandofoli, qui istud mendacium dicitur fabricasse; secundo dicitur quod ista dicta sunt sermocinaliter ab Augustino, Anglorum episcopo; et tercio dicitur quod quidam discipuli magni Augustini post eius A 65b obitum taliter fuerunt locuti: ut Aurelius et alii. | Sed esto quod ista sint verba magni Augustini doctoris scriptis suis famosis contraria; tunc dicitur quod primum est verum, quod panis et vinum convertuntur in corpus B 74b Christi et sanguinem. Secundum dictum est | verum et pertinens quod sicut uxor Loth versa est in statuam Gen. XIX, 26 salis, Genes. XIX, et fenum et silex in vitrum ut testatur experiencia, sic quodammodo miraculose panis et vinum convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, sed in dictis mirabilibus manet eadem essencia sub utroque terminorum, sicut in transsubstanciacione ista supernaturali remanet tam panis quam vini essencia; et cum sit miraculose corpus Christi et sanguis, sopita consideracione quidditatis panis et vini, sortitur nomen excellencius secundum religionem quam ex fide scripture credimus: cum vere et realiter virtute verborum sacramentalium fiunt corpus Christi et sanguis. Quomodo autem hoc fiat, cum nec fiat per viam ydemptificacionis, nec inpanacionis, debet fidelis sedule perscrutari. Ego

Authenticity of the quotation denied, because it is never cited anywhere.

It may be that one Gandofolus forged these words;

that St. Augustine of England or a disciple of the great Augustine spoke them.

But were they by Augustine, he would contradict himself; so we should stand by the other passages.

Besides they can be explained.

In the instance of Lot's wife and flint changed into glass, their essence remains.

So also of the Eucharist.

This is done neither by identification nor by impanation:

3. remaneat B. 15. pastoribus CD. 16, 17. sed — inculcata *deest* B. 22. Ancelinus B. 28. filex ABD. 29. sed C; *ib.* sed miraculose C. 32. sic B; *ib.* translacione B. 36. sed C; sed secundum D. 37. ex virtute B.

but rather by a sacramental conversion.

autem intelligo hoc fieri per viam sacramentalis conversionis, aut quocunque alio nomine ista mutacio catholice sit detecta. Tercium autem verbum impositum D.

To make Augustine say that only the qualities remain is to slander him; for all admit that not only qualities, but quantity, and seven other sorts of accidents, remain.

Augustino: quod non remanet substancia panis aut vini, sed solum eorum qualitates, capit calumpniam; cum necesse sit quantitates et septem alia genera respectuum remanere; in tantum quod subtiliores et famosiores ecclesie dicunt quod sacramentum per se remanens est quantitas, septem aliis generibus accidencium informata. Illi igitur inpugnabunt istam sentenciam. Sed potest dici quod panis et vinum non remanent post consecracionem | in actu distincto consideracionis fidelium, sed A 65[c]

Yet we may say that the sensible qualities alone remain because they alone are present to our mind.

tantummodo sensibiles qualitates. Licet enim | quantitas B 74[c] remaneat, tamen iuxta testimonium Averrois non est de genere activorum, sed consequitur materiam primam que habet dimensiones interminatas. Non valet igitur Gog et Magog pro tempore solucionis patris mendacii fingere super isto sancto mendacia.

And the word 'form' can be taken for the substantial form (as in Scripture).

Sed ulterius notandum, pro istis tribus vocabulis, quod forma quandoque accipitur pro forma substanciali, et quandoque pro forma accidentali. Exemplum primi est dictum ad Philippens. II°: "Cum in forma dei esset, Philipp. II, 6, 7 non rapinam arbitratus est esse se equalem deo, sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens"; ubi fideli non debet verti in dubium, quin per "formam dei" et "formam servi" intelligitur deitas atque humanitas, quibus Christus est duplex substancia, scilicet deus

And also for the accidental form:

et homo. Secundo modo accipitur pro forma accidentali E. accepta largius vel striccius, ut in scriptura communiter accipitur pro qualitate secunda ex substancia quantitate

So when the substantial form of bread is seen by the mental eye, Christ appears under that form.

et qualitate prioribus resultante. Et sic corpus Christi videtur per fidem sub forma panis, quando forma substancialis panis videtur oculo mentali et forma accidentalis panis videtur oculo corporali, sed corde creditur quod corpus Christi veraciter est in pane. Species autem

1. hec B. 16. et *deest* CD. 21. primum D. 23. rapina AD. 24. semet *deest* ACD. 26. intelliguntur D.

20. We may note here that 'substantial form' can be taken in two senses, both of which imply that the substance exists. In one, the form is only a part, but the part that determines the rest to be what it is. In the other it is the abstract expression of all that makes the subject: as, ***humanity***. Wyclif cleverly avails himself of these scholastic senses of 'form' to get out of the difficulty.

Gen. I passim. Ps. XLIV, 5 accipitur, nunc pro forma substanciali communi vel individua, ut patet Genesis I°; et nunc pro forma accidentali, ut psalmo XLIV°: "Specie tua et pulchritudine tua"; et ita similitudo nunc accipitur pro forma substanciali, exemplata a suo principio; ut verbum dei et spiritus hominis dicuntur "similitudo dei patris" vel "ad B 74ᵈ similitudinem trinitatis"; et quandoque accipitur | "si- A 65ᵈ militudo" pro forma | accidentali: sive sit relacio sive qualitas secunda in quantitate fundata. Unde Augustinus in sermone "De sacramento altaris" et ponitur: *De consecracione* distinccione secunda *"Utrum sub figura"* — "Nichil," inquit, "racionabilius quam ut, quia nos similitudinem mortis Christi in baptismo accepimus, similitudinem quoque corporis et sanguinis eius sumamus." Illa autem similitudo non potest esse accidens sine subiecto.

And the word 'species' is taken for both accidental and substantial form. Examples.

And the word 'similitude' is also taken for 'substance' sometimes; as in Augustine, who speaks of receiving the similitude of Christ's body.

Per ista potest intelligi textus Gregorii loquentis de nomine vel vocabulo reali; "sed absit fidelem concludere accidens esse sine subiecto; ut non opportet sed repugnat, si spiritus sanctus apparuit in specie columbe, ut dicitur Luce III°, tunc illa species fuit accidens sine subiecto. Deus enim nunquam illudit hominibus per ista mendacia, licet talibus sepe similitudinibus substernat peregrinas F. substancias". Unde Augustinus in *"De Agone Christiano"* sic inquit: "Hinc accedit magnum sacramentum, ut, quia per feminam nobis mors acciderat, vita nobis per feminam donaretur; ut de utraque natura scilicet feminea et masculina devictus dyabolus cruciaretur; qui de ambarum subversione letabatur, cui parum fuerat ad penam si ambe nature in nobis liberarentur nisi eciam per ambas liberaremur. Neque hoc ita dicimus, ut dominum Jesum Christum solum verum corpus dicamus habuisse; spiritum autem sanctum fallaciter apparuisse oculis hominum, sed ambo illa corpora vera credamus corpora". "Sicut enim," inquit, "non oportebat, ut homines

St. Gregory says we must not suppose that 'appearance' means an accident without subject, when the Holy Ghost was seen under the appearance of a dove;

For God does not delude men.

And Augustine, speaking of the Incarnation, says that Christ's body was a true one.

9. qualitate B. 13. accepcius AB. 23. et peregrinas D. 27. daretur B; *ib.* scilicet *deest* B.

11. Decr. Grat. Dist. II, c. 72. This 72nd chapter seems made up of quotations from Paschasius, according to the note of Friedberg's Leipzig edition. Olgerus ascribes it to Augustine, 'De sacramento altaris'; which is not the title of any of his works now extant. 24. Aug. De Agone Christiano, c. XXII (t. 40, p. 303, of Migne).

A 66[a] B 75[a]

falleret spiritus | Dei | sic non oportebat ut homines falleret spiritus sanctus sed salvos faceret; omnipotenti autem domino deo, qui universam creaturam de nichilo, sicut potuit et voluit, fabricavit, non erat difficile verum corpus sumere columbe, sive aliarum columbarum ministerio figurare, sicut non fuit difficile ei verum corpus sumere in utero Marie sine virili communione; cum creatura corporea, et in visceribus femine ad formandum hominem, et in ipso mundo ad formandam columbam, imperio domini voluntatique serviret." Voluit âutem iste sanctus, sicut et omnes fideles doctores, quod sicut deus non simulat mendacium nec illudit ecclesie, sic non sunt fingenda miracula nec scripture sentencia, nisi ex deo fuerint evidenter patencia.

And that it was as easy for God to create the body of Christ, as the body of a dove; so as not to deceive men.

All the Doctors agree that God does not delude His Church.

G.

Unde culpandi sunt qui claudicantes utroque latere blasphemant in sensum scripture apostoli. Hii vero fingunt, quod loquitur I ad Cor. X solum de pane Christo, qui de celo descendit. In cuius evidenciam notant textum apostoli dicentis "Quocienscunque manducabitis panem", quod solum potest intelligi de Christo, cum nec multi, nec aliqui multociens manducant eundem panem materialem. Sed sic arguentes notarent logicam scripture ad convincendum suam stulticiam, ut in principio religionis sue Act. IV°, quo dicitur quod "multitudinis credencium erat cor unum et anima una"; et I[a] Cor. X: "Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus"; et signanter Levit. XXIII: "Vocabi tis hunc diem celeberrimum atque sanctissimum; omne opus servile non facietis in eo; legittimum sempiternum erit in cunctis habitaculis et generacionibus vestris".

Such opinions as imply the contrary are blamable. For instance, when they make the word 'bread' in I Cor. X apply to Christ alone because the same material bread can be eaten by only one man once.

Which assertion is proved by Scripture to be untrue.

I. Cor. X, 16, 17

Act. IV, 32

A 66[b]

Lev. XXIII, 21

B 75[b] H.

Istis notatis patet quod quicunque quocienscunque | comederint hostiam consecratam manducant eundem panem materialem, cum omnes ille hostie sunt idem panis in numero; et sic multociens comedit homo datum panem; quia, ut noverunt philosophi, homo interpollat multociens in quocunque esu corporali cum dicit se accepisse a domino, quomodo Jesus accepit panem in manus suas, pro nocte cene; et de illo pane ac sibi correspondente prosequitur, et unum dicit esse ebrium

Many offerings may be one bread individually.

The Apostle describes the Lord's Supper among Christians: his remark.

1. sanctus *pro* Dei ABCD. 1, 2. sic — sed *deest* ACD. 4. difficile ei ACB. 7. viri commixtione B. 17. I *deest* C. 17—21. pane Christo . . . cum *deest* ACD. 39. dedit B.

10. The whole of this passage varies much from the text of Augustine. After *communione,* l. 7, Augustine has *fabricare.*

et alium esurire post cenam illam, in qua indubie cenantes vescebantur pane et vino corporali, ut per hoc pascantur spiritualiter in memoriam passionis Christi. Ideo apostolus vocat eam cenam dominicam.

Unde glossa communis (et sumitur a beato Ambrosio) exponit illud verbum apostoli I Cor. XI "unusquisque enim cenam suam presumit ad manducandum." "Notat," inquit, "illos qui munera que offerebant altaribus sibi resumebant, nec aliis non habentibus communicare volebant; offerebant enim divites panem et vinum habundanter, ut benediccione et consecracione sacerdotali sanctificaretur, et dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum confirmaretur. Post celebracionem vero sacri misterii et consecracionem panis et vini, suas oblaciones vendicabant et, aliis non communicantibus, soli sume- A 66^c bant | ut inde eciam inebriarentur, aliis esurientibus". Et hec fuit irreligiosa presumpcio facta in memoria Christi qui dilexit in ordine suo habere omnia in communi. Et I. B 75^c patet quod apostolus loquitur de pane corporali. Et | tercio moveret fidelis forma verborum apostoli; nam cum 'quociens' dicit interpollacionem, debemus autem manducare spiritualiter corpus Christi in natura sua quotidie atque continue, patet quod apostolus loquitur de manducacione corporali que per vices debet fieri; scribit enim Augustinus, super Joh. omelia 25ª: "Crede et manducasti": cum igitur semper debemus credere, patet quod semper debemus spiritualiter manducare, sed sacramentaliter per vices: turpe itaque foret quod ignorancia merdosa sophismatis in uno ydiota seduceret ecclesiam in antiquo sensu fidei scripture.

The Gloss explains this passage, saying that the rich refused to share their offerings with the poor.

And thus some were drunken, and some hungry.

It is evident that the Apostle here makes mention of corporal bread.

The word 'quotiens' implies a thing done several times.

Augustine has words to the same effect.

It is therefore shameful ignorance and sophistry to suppose that we cannot eat sacramentally more than once.

Sed homo peccati nititur multipliciter cumulare inconveniencia super ecclesiam. Nititur enim inpugnare ut heresim illum cantum ecclesie.

Hic presens testatur dies
Currens per anni circulum,
Quod solus a sede patris
Mundi salus adveneris.

All this proceeds from the malice of the Man of Sin.

7. enim *deest* B. 17. in memoriam CD. 18. dixit B. 20. fidelis A. 29. mardosa CD; *ib.* sophistis C.

7. Wyclif is mistaken in his quotation. The Glossa ordinaria is by Walefridus Strabo; this passage is from Raban Maur's Enarr. in Epp. Pauli, l. XI, c. 11 (t. 112, p. 102, of Migne). 25. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XXV, t 35, p. 1602 of Migne. 34. Hymn at Matins on Christmas Day, *Sarum Breviary*, Procter I, CLXXI. Ascribed to St. Ambrose. *See* Migne, t. 17, p. 1201.

The same day can occur several times as the Church hymn says. Every year we sing: 'This is *the* day that the Lord hath made'.

Si enim conceperit quod eadem dies natalis domini evenerit annuatim, posset faciliter intelligere quod ecclesia annuatim manducat hanc cenam domini. Ad cuius noticiam expergefaceret quod ecclesia canit annuatim in repetita solemnitate paschali, "Hec dies quam fecit dominus". Et sacerdos quotidie celebrando dicit sine mendacio quod Christus "accepit hunc preclarum calicem

And the priest repeats every day: *As often as* ye do this . . . . All this could be done only once!

in sanctas ac venerabiles | manus suas." Et quod plus (A 66d) movet, sacerdos auctoritate Christi quottidie repetit; "Hec quocienscunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis." Sed (K.) iuxta istam insaniam hec facta singularia nullociens possent fieri. Sicut igitur procuravit quod | nedum regnum (B 75d) nostrum, sed ut ipsi episcopi publicarentur heretici, ita vellet hereticare usum universalis ecclesie.

Digression. The Man of Sin proclaims heretical the right of temporal lords to take the temporalities from the Church; Yet the bishops rob the poor: which is worse.

Vellet enim hereticare, quod domini temporales possent auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquente; et per consequens regnum et episcopi qui in parliamentis consenciunt quod domini temporales regni nostri licite auferunt temporalia ab ecclesiis exteris, eciam spoliando; sed per tallagia aufferunt multa temporalia a paupere ecclesia Anglicana. Lex vero dei precipit, quod cicius omnes dotaciones quibus clerus dotatur in Anglia auferantur, antequam iste ablaciones sic continuentur. Unde, ut alias declaravi, regnum nostrum instaret in parliamentis quod de bonis temporalibus cleri magis vacantibus rex et regnum ad eius subsidium releventur; omnia

And as the Church goods belong to the poor, the kingdom ought to be aided by them, when necessary.

enim ista sunt bona pauperum, de quibus propter superfluitatem et ocium regnum debet pro tempore necessitatis citissime relevari: et potissime cum istud posset fieri exoneratis religiosis et episcopis habentibus religiose tantum de temporalibus, quantum oportet ad explecionem sui ministerii. Et communitas populi regni nostri in qua

The unjust division of endowments makes 'one priest to be drunken and another hungry'.

super alia regna stat eius prosperitas salvaretur. Moveret | (A 67a) autem sacerdotes qui debent conficere corpus Christi supra dicta sentencia apostoli, quod ipsi precipue debent habere omnia in communi, sed unus esurit et alius est ebrius propter iniquam particionem patrimonii crucifixi.

If we wish for the fruit of the sacrament, we must share our temporalities with others.

Recolerent, inquam, illius sentencie apostoli I. Cor. X. (I. Cor. X, 17) "Unus panis et unum | corpus multi sumus, omnes qui (B 76a) de uno pane et de uno calice participamus." Si igitur vendicamus fructuose participare corporis sacramentum,

4. eciam B. 6. quasi quotidie B. 10. meam B. 20. tallegia B. 23. oblaciones CD; *ib.* continuerentur B. 29. istis CD; *ib.* potest B. 36. unus quidem B. 37. inquam C. 38. I *deest* CD. 41. sacramenti C.

debemus observare legem naturalem, membrorum communicando temporalia quantum opportet ad sustentacionem cuiusque membri, sine superfluo reservato. Quod cum pertinaciter omittimus, manifeste patet, quod non sumus fructus corporis Christi participes.

L. Ex isto textu apostoli videtur probabiliter inferri, quod in tempore suo et continue post servabatur fides in Grecia, quod sacramentum altaris sit essencia panis et vini; quia tantum organum spiritus sancti non omisisset discernere hanc heresim, si cum istis paribus scivisset esse hereticum quod post consecracionem panis et vini substancia remaneret. Nunc autem vocat ipsum regulariter panem et nunquam accidens; sicut beatus Ambrosius, Johannes Damascenus, et usus illius ecclesie usque hodie contestantur. Secundum devium, in sensu scripture nimis peccat in logica, ponens regulariter sanctum apostolum intelligere per panem sacramentalem vel cenam dominicam, non panis substanciam, sed accidens sine subiecto; et sic nedum intelligit per panem in scriptura A 67b apostoli illis | duobus capitulis accidens sine subiecto, sed regulariter in quadruplici ewangelio per panem sacramentalem intelligit accidens sine subiecto.

This passage of the Apostle proves the faith of the Greeks; for if it had been heretical to believe that the substance of bread and wine remained after consecration, he would never have used those terms.

Et ista heresis ad tantum perturbat ecclesiam quod prelati eius vix intelligunt oracionem dominicam. Scribit enim Augustinus libro II°, "de sermone domini in monte", quomodo ista quarta peticio: *panem nostrum* B 76b *quotidianum da nobis hodie,* que ponitur | Math. VI° intelligi potest sane tripliciter; primo quod per panem quotidianum intelligitur universitas vescibilium, que huius vite necessitatem sustentant. Quamvis enim docemur regnum dei et iusticiam eius primo querere, tamen post triplicem peticionem correspondentem trinitati increate, licet nobis istud petere quod Christus pangit nobis adicere. Et ista videtur sentencia Johannis Crisostomi, opere inperfecto, omelia 14: Unde quia non debemus esse solliciti circa panem istum in crastinum, ideo Christus vocat ipsum quottidianum et nobis esse hodie exhiben-

This heresy troubles the Church so much that she cannot even understand the Lord's Prayer. 'Give us our daily bread' can have three several senses: the first, referring to mere corporal food;

M. dum. Secundus sensus catholicus quem Augustinus approbat est quod per 'panem quottidianum' intelligitur sacramentum altaris, quod licet non quotidie sacramen-

the second, to the Holy Sacrament.

9. omissis C. 20. duabus B. 21. irregulariter B. 29. intelligatur B. 37. ipsum *deest* B.

25. Aug. De Sermone Domini etc., l. II, c. 7. Migne, t. 34, p. 1280.

The third, to the observation of God's law.

taliter sumamus, tamen quotidie in ecclesia· conficitur, vel a fidelibus spiritualiter sumitur ad salutem. Unde, ad commemorandum nostram quotidianam egenciam, signanter petitur hodie nobis dari. Tercius sensus quem sanctus plus approbat, est quod per panem quotidianum intelligitur preceptorum divinorum observacio, de qua idem precipit Joh. 6: "Operamini non cibum qui | perit"; et A 67c post exposicionem istius sensus catholici concludit sanctus: Joh. VI, 27 "Si quis," inquit, "illam de victu corporis necessario, vel de sacramento dominici corporis sentenciam istam wult accipere, oportet ut coniuncte accipiantur ista tria: ut scilicet panem quotidianum simul petamus, et necessarium corpori et sacramentum visibile et verbum dei invisibile".

And St. Augustine says that we must take these three meanings together, as one.

Now the new heresy renders it impossible to understand the words in this manner. "Give us our accident without its subject," their prayer should be. Even heathens would laugh at that.

Ista autem heresis tantum obnubilavit | ecclesiam quod B 76c prelati, eciam maiores, ignorant hunc sensum medium oracionis dominice. Balbuciunt enim fideles petere: "panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie"; hoc est, "accidens nostrum sine subiecto da nobis pro toto tempore presentis miserie"; quem sensum eciam ethnici deriderent, cum inpertinens sit a patre summo petere tale accidens nobis dari.

Digression explaining the different parts of the Lord's Prayer. Three petitions referring to God; Four, to the Church. We must love our holy mother, the Church, more than ourselves. This being a law of nature, it follows that there is no dispense for it. Therefore the clergy ought to lead a life of poverty and have all things in common. If not, they are 1st simoniacs;

Teneamus igitur antiquam sentenciam de oracione N. dominica, quomodo dividitur in duo: primo, quod tria petuntur in quibus trinitas est placata, in cuius signum triplex pronomen *tuum* in triplici prima peticione sibi dirigitur. Sed in secunda parte, continente peticiones quatuor pro sancta matre ecclesia, quadruplex pronomen *nostra* et *nos* inseritur, ad denotandum quod debemus super omnia deum diligere et consequenter debemus plus nobis diligere sanctam matrem ecclesiam: et cum hoc sit de lege communi nature, patet quod antichristus non potest hoc tollere, nec cum contrario dispensare; igitur clerici dispensatores sacramenti altaris debent vivere pauperem vitam et habere omnia in communi, a quo si perti | naciter deficiunt sunt symoniace heretici, A 67d blasphemi sacrilegi et anathematici apostate, capitales discipuli antichristi; prima pars patet ex hoc quod descriptive simonia est inordinata volicio temporalia pro spiritualibus commutanti: ut patet primo capitulo "*De*

7. non *deest* B; non perit B. 8. huius B. 11. omnia ista B. 15. ignorent B. 18. nobis hodie B. 29. deum *deest* BCD. 30. ecclesia *deest* BCD.

39. "Describunt autem periti symoniam, quod est inordinata volicio temporalia pro spiritualibus commutandi" (*J. Wyclif, De Simonia,* c. I, p. 2).

symonia". Cum igitur omnis affectans dotacionem cleri supra statum exproprietarium, quem Christus instituit, habet huiusmodi volicionem inordinatam, manifeste patet [O.] quod omnis talis sit symoniace hereticus. Et confirmatur [B 76^d] ex hoc quod seculares prin | cipes habent precipue potestatem in seculari dominio, quam clerus nititur per suam dotacionem minuere; sed hoc est ordinacioni dei [Rom. XIII, 2] resistere. Unde pertinenter dicit apostolus Rom. XIII; "Qui resistit potestati, dei ordinacioni resistit"; deus enim ordinavit seculares potestates stare in suo dominio, et clerum suum ordinavit vivere de temporalibus elemosinis secularium, ad revocandum eos tam per vitam quam per doctrinam a seculo. Sed constat ecclesie, quod Antichristus resistit utrimque ordinacioni divine in secta sua omnimode procurando contrarium. Non tamen credi debet, quin secularis debet secundum formam ewangelii clericis de vite necessariis providere; quia, nisi hoc fecerint in mensura, numero et pondere, exciderent a suo dominio, sicut excidunt dando stulte contra trinitatem predictam clero dotacionem perpetuam. Et in pertinacia istius heresis totus mundus corrumpitur. Et secunda pars patet ex hoc, quod contra sacras leges sapiencie [A 68^a] dei patris studiose macu | lant cum mundo magnam partem ecclesie, hii consensu et hii opere; et hoc est [P. 25] blasfemum sacrilegium. Tercia pars patet ex textu apo- [I. Cor. XVI, 22] stoli I Cor. ultimo: "Si quis non amaverit dominum Jesum Christum anathema sit": Nemo autem amat ipsum, [Jo. XIV, 23] nisi observaverit legem suam, cum ipsemet dicat Jo- [Jac. II, 10] hannis XIV: "Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit" cui iunctum illud Jacobi II°: "Qui offendit in uno factus est omnium reus", patet in facto, quomodo [B 77^a] clerus anathematizatus apostatat et specialiter proditores | veritatis qui mutescunt clamare contra has hereses; sunt enim causa quare corruunt leges Christi. Quod si obicitur: iuxta istam sentenciam dominos temporales debere habere omnia in communi; concedi debet conclusio; quicquid enim habuerit potentatus seculi, et non ad edificacionem tocius ecclesie conformiter legi Christi, habet illud tyrannice, sed sicut aliam quantitatem et qualitatem cibi habent musculi et aliam oculi, sic debet esse de membris ecclesie, cum clerus de subtili vivens debet cibaria residuo subtiliter preparare.

and no one desiring the endowment of the clergy can escape heresy.

To strive for an endowment is to diminish the resources of the State, and to resist the Powers.

Yet it is the duty of the secular powers to provide the clergy with what is necessary to its maintenance; they will come to ruin, if they do not.

2nd Blasphemers and sacrilegious men; for they seek to pollute the Church with worldliness.

3rd they are anathema. For, not keeping Christ's law, they do not love Him; those especially who ought to protest and who do not.

Objection: Your argument goes to prove that temporal lords too should have all in common. *Answer:* So they ought, in a different way, but all should be for the good of the Church.

14. utrique B. 26. I *deest* C. 30. iunctum CD; *ib.* ultimo B.
31. cum *pro* in B.

CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

De multiplicacione corporis Christi.

Ulterius restat videre de multiplicacione corporis Christi, in qua materia, sicut multiplicantur ficticie de multiplicacione sacerdotum et membrorum ecclesie, sic multiplicantur mendacia de multiplicacione corporis Christi in eukaristia.

Three ways of understanding this word: "multiplication of Christ's body". 1st That the same body should be quantitatively in several places at once. 2nd Quantitatively in one place, virtually in many. 3rd By nature in one, by power in many. Instances of this third way: a king is somehow in all his kingdom; a universal in all its individuals.

Tribus autem modis potest intelligi multiplicacio corporis Christi. Primo, quod idem corpus in numero secundum se totum dimensionaliter simul sit per quantumcunque diversa loca; secundo | modo, quod idem (A 68b) corpus in numero simul sit dimensionaliter per unum locum et virtualiter in natura sua per alium. Et utraque istarum multiplicacionum est famosa aput diversas sectas in materia de eukaristia. Tercia via, quod idem corpus sit tantum per unum locum sibi adequatum secundum naturam eiusdem sed in signis aut virtutibus sit simul per diversa loca, sicut corpus Christi est in qualibet particula hostie consecrate, et rex secundum Augustinum est simul in multis partibus regni sui. Sicut enim idem commune multiplicatur in quolibet eius supposito, cum sit illorum quodlibet, sic corpus Christi mul | tiplicatur (B 77b) in qualibet hostia consecrata, cum sit quodammodo illarum quelibet; nec in natura sua recipit denominaciones varias, licet ipsa signa multipliciter varientur. Et sic corpus Christi est vel virtualiter, vel cum hoc sacramentaliter hic nobiscum.

I. The first way is inadmissible; for any quantity would then be infinitely great.

Contra primum replicatum est alibi quod omne quantum est infinitum magnum; quia da quod non, pedalis

1. Capitulum *et titulus desunt* ABD. 9. Christi *deest* ACD; *ib.* primo modo B. 21. comune CD. 21, 22. cum sit illorum quodlibet *deest* ACD.

28. Here Wyclif commences a series of arguments that are very difficult to follow, partly on account of the reasoning in itself *(reductio ad absurdum)* partly because of probable copyists' errors. There is a like and still less comprehensible series in *De Benedicta Incarnatione.*

B. quantitas contra ipsa est tam magna sicut potest esse; sed infinitum magna potest esse; igitur infinitum magna est. Supposito maiori, patet minor ex opinione; quia illa quantitas potest per multiplicacionem secundum diversas partes extendi per totum mundum et per consequens equari toti mundo: et sic in infinitum. Et sic punctus foret linea, superficies, et corporeitas et qualiscunque species figure, foret figura contrarie speciei; et sic qualiscunque numerus sensibilis multiplicatorum hominum foret qualiscunque numerus: et eodemmodo de tempore et loco. Si enim hora secundum partes esset A 68c infinitum continuata, infinitum longum tempus foret; | sed hoc iuxta adversarios posset fieri; igitur infinitum longum potest quodcunque tempus esse; et periret omnis certitudo quantitatis. Et cum illa sit maxima, periret omnis certitudo.

A foot, v. g. measured against it would be as great as it could be: i. e. infinitely so; for the multiplication of this quantity, by hypothesis, is indefinite; therefore also that of its measure. Other absurdities noted.

Eodem autem modo reducitur de qualitate; nam naturalis potencia multiplicata in infinitum multum posset facere, et sic infinitum magna potencia foret; ymmo quelibet qualitas corporea infinitum intensa foret; quia per viam varie extensionis infinitam intensionem sub equali quantitate posset aquirere; ut cum hoc posset B 77c esse sine alteracione | eiusdem qualitatis, sequitur quod omnis talis qualitas sit infinitum intensa. Si enim eadem albedo foret infinicies multiplicata, per eundem situm foret infinitum inmutativa visus et sic de ceteris qualitatibus, et racione duarum qualitatum eque forcium coextensarum et qualitative componencium unum totum, foret qualitas resultans in duplo intensior: et sic in infinitum. Et sic ad omnem punctum foret infinitum intensa qualitas; quia infinitum foret varie composicio qualitatis: et tamen tota foret eadem qualitas. Et sic eadem species singularis in anima potest significare naturaliter infinita. Et conformiter arguitur de aliis generibus accidentis.

The same argument may be applied against the hypothesis of the same natural quality existing in several places: as all quality has some force, there might be an infinite amount of force. Concrete example: whiteness.

This quality being the same, would thus be infinitely intense as existing in all space.

C. Tercio arguitur de qualitatibus, que sapiunt privacionem, ut de raritate, de azimitate, claritate et suis

Another argument, drawn from negative qualities.

1. ita B. 2. sed *deest* CD. 3. Supposita CD; *ib.* quod B. 6. in *deest* B. 12. contaminata B. 16. quelibet BCD. 21. coextensionis B. 22. essenciali CD; *ib.* et B. 26. aliis BD. 27. secundarum B. 28. qualitudine D. 32. cum *omnes MSS.*

37. *Azymitas,* a word barbarously coined according to the School *(panitas, equinitas, asinitas* etc.) to express the *state of being unleavened.*

The Sacrament would be infinitely rare and dense at once;

oppositis. Videtur enim quod infinitum magna fit raritas relicta in hostia consecrata; quia omnis que fuit in aliqua parte materie panis infinitum magna fuit in aliqua eius parte intensiva; | quia, ut fingunt, infinite materie A 68[d] prime poterunt coextendi; ex quo cum dei omnipotencia sequitur, quod infinitum magna sit raritas in sacramento altaris. Et certum est quod comiscetur aliqua densitas. Non enim negandus est sensus, quin sicud sacramentum est album, ut dicit Thomas super distinccione 12, questione prima, sic est tam rarum quam densum cum aliis denominacionibus que prius infuerunt

infinitely unleavened too; while the sacrament of the Greeks, infinitely leavened, would consequently be of a different species from ours.

pani. Et sic ecclesia nostra occidua habet sacramentum infinitum azimum; quia ita azimum sicut deus potest creare, cum sit pure sine fermento: et alterius speciei foret sacramentum nostrum | a sacramento Grecorum. B 77[d] Et de subtilitate vel claritate videtur tanta remanere sicut fuit in aliqua parte materie.

Besides, a priest could, if he had the power to multiply quantity in this fashion, put two men, one in England and the other in India, in instantaneous communication with each other.

Quarto, videtur sequi de possibili sacerdoti, quod ipse posset communicare Petrum in Anglia cum Paulo in India, neutro umquam movente localiter adversus reliquum, posito quod Petrus sacerdos habeat potestatem multiplicandi idem alimentum in numero in corpora istorum duorum in istis duobus locis continue quietorum; et posito quod istud alimentum pro B instanti assimiletur utrique; tunc patet quod pro B partes Petri et Pauli copulantur ad eundem terminum communem; et sic vere copulantur cum partibus recitatis; et tamen non obstante quod sint sic inmediati, sunt parvi homines tan-

And these two persons, moving however slowly thus multiplied in quantity could be together at once. Which would overthrow the laws of movement and of time.

tum distantes moti a se invicem continue minorati. Et sic posset eadem parva persona infinitum cito pertransire eandem distanciam, quantamcunque per viam multiplicacionis quantumcunque tarde movendo; et perirent regule | de velocitate motuum quorumcunque: ut, posito A 69[a] quod idem punctus in numero multiplicetur per situm equinoccialem causando tempus, ut modo, tunc periret veritas exprimenda de velocitate motus et temporis; ut diffuse dictum est alibi.

Quinto, videtur sequi, quod cultores signorum sic D. opinantes possent continere in pugillo, in liripipio et in

1. sit D. 3. materie prime panis B. 5. potuerunt CD. 20. aliud versus CD. 24. minori *pro* B B. 25. pro *deest* CD; *ib.* Pali AB. 26, 27. ad — capulantur *deest* B. 27. paribus ACD. 39. liripio D.

8. S. Th. Aq. In lib. IV. Sent. Dist. XII, quaest. 1 art. 1, 2.

parvo loco suo quantumcunque abscondite totum mundum manentem eque magnum ut est modo: quod videtur deo esse proprium, quod sit "mundum pugillo continens" extra mundum: et videtur blasfemum dicere B 78d quod os et membra sic opinancium | sint sic infinitum capacia. Nam de tali potest dici illud Job penultimo. Job. XLI, 4 "In medium oris eius quis intrabit?" Et illud Job, XL, 18 "Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur; habet fiduciam quod influat Jordanis in os eius." Si enim quilibet religiosus infinitum magnum sufficeret capere in os suum, quomodo non est inmensum supra dyabolum? Et deduccio patet ex isto, quod stat istum mundum per viam multiplicacionis contineri, in quantumcunque parvo corpore cum tota quantitate sua; et sequuntur dicte conclusiones, et infinitum magis mirabiles; et per viam coextensionis replicate stat mundum secundum se totum extendi per quantumcunque parvum locum.

Again, by means of this multiplication of quantity, a man could hold the world in his fist. Which is blasphemy.

If a monk can take the Infinite into his mouth, is he not greater than the devil?

E. Sexto, deducitur quod est in potestate cuiuscunque presbiteri, facere rem abiectissimam deum suum; quia conficiendo facit accidens deum suum; quia corpus Christi, quod est Christus, ut concedunt; ille autem panis est infinitum inperfeccior in natura quam panis A 69b equinus vel ratonis; | quia precise est perfectus in natura sua, sicut quantitas aut qualitas huius panis; infinitum inperfeccior est quecunque quantitas aut qualitas ipso pane; igitur infinitum inperfeccius est ipsum per se sacramentum ipso pane. Nam naturalis perfeccio est perfeccio simpliciter; et perfeccio accidentalis quam habet ex significacione vel comitancia corporis Christi est nulla vel modica; tum quia accidens illud non potest sic alterari; tum eciam, quia omnis creatura, eciam dyabolus, concomitatur et signat deitatem. Magna itaque blasfemia esset sine auctoritate vel racione presumere B 78b quod quilibet sacerdos facit tam abiectam | rem corpus domini; magnum itaque est, quod panis triticeus, infinitum perfeccior predictis panibus, sit eukaristia. Et illum panem describit autor *"De divinis officiis"*, qui superius nominatus est Ambrosius "esse terrenam substanciam, corpus sacrificii, collectum ex terre fructibus."

An accident is the meanest of things; so a priest makes the meanest of things his God.

For an accident has no natural perfection by itself.

It is blasphemy to pretend that so mean a thing can be Christ's body; and a great thing to say that bread can be.

The expression 'of the fruits of the earth', again quoted.

2. manente AB; *ib* materia B. 7. Job ultimo B. 21. ut concedunt *deest* A. 22. panis ut concedunt ACD; *ib.* perfectior D. 23. communis B. 24. huiusmodi BC. 24, 25. huiusmodi ipso pane igitur infinitum inperfectius est ipsum per se sacramentum D. 24–26. panis — qualitas *deest* C. 35. Christi B; quia B. 36. accidentibus B. 37. fulgencius *in marg.* A.

Sic, inquam, exponit doctor panem illum qui accipiendo benediccionem fit corpus Christi.

Another great difficulty: why ascribe to the Sacrament only one sort of quantity — dimensions — and not the other sorts: time, place, &c. All are in the unconsecrated Host. If God could conserve one species of quantity, why not the others? And if it be said that these other species are conserved, we may reply that the sacrament is nothing, being a collective mixture of diverse entities.

Septimo, angustiatur pars adversa, dum videt, quod F. non est racio, quare sacramentum altaris sit unum genus quantitatis, quin per idem et quodlibet; et potissime tempus et locus; et sic de quacumque qualitate que prius fuit in pane non consecrato. Ideo est aggregatum ex illis omnibus, cum accidentibus respectivis ipsa consequentibus. Non enim licet blasfemare, quod deus potest servare unum illorum per se, quin per idem et quodlibet. Nec est sompnianda racio, quare differenter sic fecit de uno et non de quocunque, cum foret maius miraculum; quo | concesso ultra subtilizat, quod sacra- A 69c mentum altaris nichil est vel nichil valet. Nam cum sit res diversorum generum, videtur, si "populus" nichil est evidencius hoc sacramentum nichil est; minor est famosa aput modernos, quos alloquor, iuxta hoc metricum:

Populus est aliquid; sed populus nichil est;

quia aliter opporteret concedere quod multi homines sunt unus homo. Et sic de aliis monstris. Vel aliter, quod aliquid est, quod nec est substancia, nec accidens; et quod aliqua substancia est, que neque est corporea, neque incorporea; et sic de aliis divisionibus generum, que forent simpliciter incon | plete. B 78c

If the Sacrament is nothing, it is worth nothing either socially nor naturally.

Concesso igitur quod principale sacramentum nichil est, evidens est quod nichil valet; quia nichil valet civiliter; nec valet aliquid in natura. Quia, esto quod precise valeat substanciam vel quantitatem, et patet quod oportet unum genus entis equiparare in valore vel bonitate naturali rei alterius generis: quod est impossibile.

A case put: A man may be born of parents who are to be damned on account of his birth, and yet can neither sin nor suffer! For if we posit the souls A and B of the parents, with the *absolute accidents* of their bodies, it will be so.

Octavo, proponitur hoc enigma: possibile est quod G. iste homo fuit temporaliter generatus univoce et non ab aliquo animali; licet parentes eius, conversantes cum eo in fide, ipsum instruxerint, qui licet a deo perpetue dampnabuntur, non tamen possunt peccare vel puniri in corpore aut anima, sicut non possunt in altero horum pati. Posito quod ex duobus spiritibus qui possunt esse anime humane, et omnibus accidentibus absolutis corporeis, que sunt in Petro et Martha optime complexionatis constituantur duo supposita, subducta in eis omni

14. cum *deest* CD. 16. est *deest* CD. 19. alter B. 20. aliter *deest* B. 27. aliud D. 28. prevaleat *pro* precise valeat CD. 29. parari B. 33. univoce *deest* ACD. 39. anime *deest* ABC; *in marg.* D.

materiali substancia, et quod ista que sunt A et B peccent | A 69d dampnabiliter procreando Paulum, compositum ex corpore et anima; de quo Paulo verificant conclusionem. Nam sicut A et B, mediantibus aliquibus suis accidentibus corporeis, possunt operari eque efficaciter et satis univoce, ut patet de operibus nutritivis et sensitivis; ita videtur de accidentibus generacionis. Et per consequens, sicut A et B habent potestatem gignendi et aliter operandi secundum quascunque qualitates quas habent, sic possunt esse parentes et coniuges, hominem procreantes. Et patet cum casu prima pars conclusionis; et secunda pars probatur per hoc quod nec A nec B est | B 78d substancia animata sensibilis, quia non corpus; quia, pari evidencia qua foret substancia, foret tam quantitas quam qualitas. Et patet tercia pars ex casu, cum tam A quam B potest exercere omnes operaciones tam organicas quam non organicas. Et patet quomodo tam virtus quam vicium potest inesse illis spiritibus: et sic tam A quam B potest damnari perpetuo, cum habet libertatem flexibilitatis arbitrii, sicut ponitur de inesse. Ultima vero particula videtur per hoc quod H. nec A nec B potest esse animatum sive corporeum; quia tunc foret aliene nature omnino a natura cuius est modo; ex quo sequitur, cum neutrum istorum potest esse sine accidente, cum tunc foret purus spiritus accidentatus, quod totum accidens sit essenciale utrique supposito; et per consequens, cum omne agens naturale in agendo repatitur, videtur quod nec A nec B potest agere vel pati accione corporea, et specialiter procreare. Ymo, si capta una duricie uniformi et coextensa unica mediate cum alia et sic | A 70a infinicies usque ad superficialem duriciem qua linearetur ad extra undique, videtur quod nulla armatura, ymo infinita acucies, non posset huiusmodi penetrare. Quod si tota gravitas esset ablata, tam ab A quam B, cum predicta armatura, quam gloriosum suppositum foret et agile!

Absolute accidents can do all that the substance does; therefore A and B can beget a child; and that sinfully.

But they cannot sin, not being human entities, composed of body and soul.

And yet, as they can exercise all organic and spiritual activities, they can act virtuously or viciously, and therefore may be damned, having free will. But neither A nor B can suffer; these accidents being supposed essential, they can lose nothing of them; and therefore cannot suffer from external bodily action. *Nor can they beget.* These accidents would defend them wonderfully from all attacks

Nono, subtiliatur de ordine ministrorum ecclesie, quod stat alicuius ordinis subdyaconum infinitum in potestate spirituali excedere sacerdotem; ut posito quod deus det cuilibet subdyacono potestatem transsubstanciandi panem in mundum, et cuicunque sacerdoti potestatem ad maxi-

Ninth argument: A subdeacon's function might be higher than that of a priest,

1. naturali CD. 9. quasdam B. 23. materia B. 30. sita *pro* unica C; una D. 37. ecclesie *deest* AB.

if a subdeacon could transsubstantiate bread into the world, and a priest, only into Christ's body.

If a priest and a subdeacon began together to change bread, one into the world and the other into Christ's body, this bread would become both at once; the world and Christ's body.

mum | transsubstanciandi panem in corpus Christi, ut [B 79] de facto ponitur. Et ex illo subtiliantur ·conclusiones [I.] infinite; nec fas est, ut inquiunt, fideli negare blasfeme possibilitatem huiusmodi quo ad deum, cum iste qui potest dare potestatem sacerdoti cuilibet ad faciendum corpus domini de quocunque pane signabili, habet potestatem ad faciendum quamcunque partem mundi, licet prius fuerit de pane quolibet. Et sic, posito quod deus concedat Petro sacerdoti potestatem transsubstanciandi A panem in corpus suum et potestatem Paulo subdyacono transsubstanciandi eundem panem pro eodem tempore in totum mundum sensibilem, et incipiant hii duo simul proferre verba sua sacramentalia que efficaciter consequantur ex dei omnipotencia fines suos, patet quod in fine ad omnem punctum accidentis, A est tam corpus Christi quam eciam totus mundus etc. Et cum accidens derelictum sortitur nomen sui subiecti et sui | [A 70b] signati in quod convertitur, ut patet supra *"De sacramento altaris"*, quod dicitur panis et corpus Christi: videtur quod illud accidens remanens sit simul corpus Christi et totus mundus: et sequuntur intricaciones innumerabiles per conversionem proposicionum et alias regulas logicas.

And thus the Paschal lamb might in the time of Moses have been Christ's body.

They admit that not only one quantity can be changed into another, but everything into everything else.

Christ might have said "Everything is my body".

Et sic subtiliant quidam, quod panis pro eodem instanti simul potest converti in rem que incipiat per remocionem aut posicionem de presenti et rem que desinat dupliciter esse. Et sic concedunt panem esse corpus quod non est, cum agnus paschalis verbo dei dicente posset fieri in tempore Moysi corpus Christi. Concedunt eciam | quod possibile est, nedum quanti- [B 79b] tatem hostie converti in quantitatem corporis Christi et sic reciproce de quolibet accidente, sed corpus converti in spiritum, et quidlibet in quidlibet: ut, posito quod Christus diceret, "Quidlibet est corpus meum"; non, inquiunt, est racio quare Christus potuit et dixit quod panis sit corpus suum, quin per idem potuit dixisse de quolibet singulariter vel communiter ipsum esse corpus suum; quia aliter nimis blasfeme restringeretur Christi potencia. Et cum sit ille qui "dixit et facta sunt" nec mentiri poterit, sequitur a pari quod panis est corpus Christi et quidlibet foret ipsum;

1. ad transsubstanciandum B. 16. eciam *deest* B; *ib.* etc. *deest* D. 26 in rem BCD; in rem potenciam B.

et sequeretur magna confusio, ut argutum est in materia de ydemptitudine.

K. Decimo, magnificatur potestas Gog et Magog, quod impossibile est suum presbiterum celebrare, nisi corrumpendo mundum antiquum quem deus creavit, faciat nowum mundum. Nec mirum, quia immutat leges nature in sui contrarium. | [A 70c] Nam iste mundus secundum fideles philosophos dependet ut a partibus essencialibus a tota essencia sue materie et toto genere spirituum perpetuorum. Sed ut fingitur, quandocunque Gog et Magog celebrat, tollit, destruit et corrumpit partem essencialem prime materie quam deus creaverat, et sic patet conclusio; alius enim foret mundus in casu quo deus destrueret omnem creatam substanciam, servando accidens; et sic secundum alietatem tocius essencialis materie que secundum philosophos est incorruptibilis, opportet mundum | [B 79c] variari. Nam corruptibiles forme substanciales sunt essencie mundi accidentales. Unde Aristoteles, primo, *De celo*, quia posuit illam materialem essenciam esse ingenerabilem et incorruptibilem, et mundum constare ex tota materia sua possibili, posuit istum mundum incorruptibilem, posse maiorem nec alium generari; non enim sufficit ad ydemptitatem numeralem istius mundi ydemptitas dei vel sue anime, si ponatur; quia tunc frustra deus creasset celum et terram ad constitucionem mundi, et frustra dedisset illi materiali essencie incorruptibilitatem et exempcionem a quocunque contrario.

This exalts overmuch the power of Gog and Magog whose priests cannot celebrate Mass without destroying the world. The world depends *essentially* on the *whole* of its matter. Therefore, annihilating an essential part of the world, the celebration of Mass destroys it. For primordial matter cannot be changed but by annihilation.

And therefore Aristotle asserted that the world is incorruptible. For the world's identity is not saved by that of God or of the soul.

Ymmo, ut patet alibi, corrupta secundum se totam prima materiali essencia, vel oportet equivalens recreari, vel mundum minorari, vel vacuum derelinqui, quorum quodlibet foret nimia presumpcio sacerdoti; totus enim situs mundi repletur prima materiali essencia, et quantitates eorum sibi mutuo correspondent. L. Et ex istis videtur quod quot sunt hostie consecrate, tot sunt foramina va | [A 70d] cua a substancia corporea: et sic mundus foret de tanto minor aut rarior. Nam corpus Christi non plus occupat locum illum quam deitas, nec ponentes vacuum

It would have to be again created, or lessened, or a void would be left.

As many consecrated Hosts, so many vacua without substance.

2. ydemptificacione? B. 6. quoniam CD. 10. Gog et *deest* B. 15. socius C. 17. variare B. 22. vel BCD. 30. illis BCD; ib. recitari C. 31. quolibet quod foret D.

22. Arist. De Coelo. l. 1, c. X et seq. (t. 2, p. 383 of Didot). 36. This is a strong point; for the whole School, following Aristotle, denied the possibility of an absolute vacuum.

For a vacuum does not exclude space and form which are here. And if you admit a vacuum here, you are obliged to admit its possibility elsewhere. By such heresies we go back to Chaos.

Such a void is contrary to Divine Wisdom.

The very laws of Nature are changed. All the quantity, all the qualities of Christ's body are in every minutest particle of the Host! Also all Christ's *human* qualities.

negabunt quin sit repletum quantitate et figura. Nec evadent blasfemantes in dei potenciam, quin a probabili sit vacuum per totum mundum, et extra mundum vacuum infinitum. Non enim potest poni consecrata hostia, cum sit unum nichil vel accidens pars substancie vel corporis sublunaris. Et per tales hereses potest verificari illud | Gen. 1°: "Terra autem erat B 79[d] Gen. I, 2 inanis et vacua." Et idem Jerem. IV[to]: "Respexi terram Jer. IV, 23 et ecce vacua erat a nichilo." Quod est contra hortacionem apostoli Cor. VI°. "Ne in vacuum graciam dei recipiatis," deus enim dedit graciam fidelibus noscendi II. Cor. VI, 1 repugnare divine sapiencie, quod sit tale vacuum; ut patet alibi. Cum autem "spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum," ut dicitur Sap. I°, non imponamus sapiencie divine tantam blasfemiam, quod aperiet mundum per vacuitates huiusmodi sine causa. Leges autem nature mutantur cum, ut inquiunt, tota quantitas et qualitas corporis Christi est in qualibet particula hostie consecrate secundum sui naturam; et cum deus, qui dat illis esse spirituale tali miraculo multiplicatis, non impedit eorum denominacionem spiritualem, sed a probabili promovet: videtur probabile quod corpus Christi sit septipedale in infinitum modica parte hostie. Et sic de omnibus dotibus humanitatis Christi, quas omnes Magog absorbet ut olera, cum sint | gracie que poterunt per A 71[a] se esse, et dicit esse loca vacua per que vadit.

Even contrary qualities can be present (they say) in different places.

Peter, ill in a cold country, may be well in a hot one.

Quantum ad leges de contrariis dicit, quod eidem M. singulari simul tempore insunt denominaciones contrarie per loca distancia; ymo stat quod eidem singulari insint pro eodem instanti et secundum eandem partem quantumcunque contraria; ut, posito quod Petrus esuriens in regione frigida sit infirmus, in regione vero

5. nichil *deest* D. 6. sublimaris C. 10. 2 Cor. B. 15. apponet B. 16. per vanitates CD. 18, 19. consecrata D. 21. nec B. 23. sit *deest* AB. 25. insorbet ACD; *ib.* potuerunt CD. 29, 30. insit C. 32. non B.

23. *Septipedale*, an expression commonly used by Wyclif and scholastics of his time to denote 'a certain definite size'. 31. The whole of the argument that follows can be understood only by referring to the Scholastic belief in the possibility of bilocation; which, as we shall presently see, Wyclif denies. They argued: If everything is absolutely possible which does not involve self-contradiction, bilocation is possible. A negation of existence in the place where it exists would be absurd; but the positing of the same existence in two places at once is a very different thing.

contraria denominetur opposite; et cum hoc multiplicetur subito et secundum dei omnipotenciam, coexten- B 80a datur cum se ipso secundum deno | minaciones contrarias; quem casum concedit *a simili*. Et sic variantur leges commune et logice.

And if he was in both at once, these qualities could belong to him likewise.

Contra secundam sentenciam que negat possibilitatem prioris sentencie videtur quod blasfeme derogat divine potencie: Nam, posito quod deus multiplicet corpus Petri existentis dimensionaliter in India per multa loca secundum naturam suam in Anglia, tunc Petrus habet verum esse et reale in Anglia independens a suo modo extensivo essendi in Yndia; igitur deus de potencia sua absoluta posset corrumpere et destruere omnem modum essendi Petri in Yndia, servato modo essendi in Anglia. Quandocunque enim sunt duo modi inpertinentes vel unus reliquo perfeccior, modus inperfeccior eciam secundum speciem potest destrui, modo perfecciori servato; specialiter si non sint religiones, sed modi absoluti tantum distantes; nam esse multiplicatum quo Petrus A 71b est in Anglia est perfeccius, et | modo essendi dei similius quam modus essendi materialis quo extenditur N. in Yndia. Item stat Petrum wulnerari vel percuti in Yndia, cum hoc quod non sic paciatur in Anglia, et per consequens deus de omnipotencia sua posset separare animam Petri a corpore suo in Yndia, cum hoc quod maneat sic copulata in Anglia. Et per consequens Petrus posset ibi mori, occidi vel aliter transmutari in Yndia, cum hoc quod maneat quietus in Anglia. Nam nimis videretur artari divina potencia, quod ipse non posset cum istis paribus rapere animam Petri de corporo suo in Yndia, nisi raperet eandem de corpore suo in Anglia: et sic de aliis denominacionibus positivis. Non enim B 80b ne | cessitatur, si cum istis paribus creat in corpore Petri accidens quodcunque in India, quod perinde creet illud idem accidens in corpore suo in Anglia. Et sic staret eundem hominem esse simul vivum et mortuum. Et sic de quibuscunque denominacionibus contrariis positivis. Cum igitur secunda sentencia dat antecedens ad hec omnia; videtur, quod sit falsa, cum deus qui multiplicat Petrum secundum substanciam suam tam differenter in Anglia posset extendere ipsum secundum

Their arguments in favour of this. The contrary limits God's power.

Peter, v. g. can be (by a miracle) in England and India at the same time; so he could be killed in India while living in England; i. e. *dead* and *alive* at the same time, but in a different place.

Why should God Almighty be compelled, because Peter dies in India, to make him die in England too?

The same holds of all contrary qualities.

And if God can do that, He can extend Christ's body in like manner.

4. capitulum AB. 12. extensive B. 15. modi *deest* AB. 18. ab[u] A; obiecti B. 19. quo *omnes MSS*. 22. Petrus AB. 24. separari D. 25. quod *deest* BCD. 33. partibus B.

esse suum naturale, non obstante resistencia esse sui in Yndia, cum hoc foret facilius.

Besides, several bodies can exist at once in the same place; Therefore *a pari* the same body can be at the same time in different places. As with the multiplication of the loaves, &c. and other miracles recorded of the Saints.

Item, secundum adversarios, stat diversa corpore esse O. simul tempore per eundem locum; igitur per locum a sufficienti similitudine stat idem corpus esse simul tempore per diversa. Et istud confirmatur de multiplicacione panum miraculosa, | de quibus in ewangelio A 71^c Marc. VI et VIII, de multiplicacione femine ex costa viri, de qua Genes. III, et de miraculo narrato de beato Ambrosio et de aliis; et videtur omnino derogare potencie divine, quod ipse non posset manendo in celò humanitus ostendere se ipsum in sacramento miraculose in forma pueri. Et ita videtur, quod nulla existencia corporis in Yndia potest impedire, ne deus posset cum hoc extendere et qualitercunque voluerit movere idem corpus quod habet in Anglia.

One of these two opinions is certainly heretical; each contradicts the other as to God's omnipotence.

Et certum est quod altera istarum viarum est omnino heretica, quia sunt summe contrarie in precipua materia fidei de dei omnipotencia; ideo certum est, quod quecunque istarum fuerit falsa, est absolute impossibilis et per consequens implicat formaliter quemlibet | articulum B 80^c fidei esse falsum: ut, posito quod sit catholicum et sic verum, quod deus non potest in talia, patet quod tunc deus non potest in talia; nisi quilibet articulus fidei sit verus, deum posse in talia, tunc possibile est deum posse in talia; et sic deus potest in talia. Ex alio latere, si sit catholicum quod deus potest in talia, tunc est absolute necessarium quod deus potest in talia; et per consequens negans hoc implicat oppositum cuiuslibet articuli fidei Christiane. Magis autem videtur quod secunda sentencia sit magis heretica.

No article of faith can be false; but whether one of these limits omnipotence, or omnipotence proves the truth of the other, Wyclif leaves in doubt.

6. tempora *pro* loca *omnes MSS.* 11. meando AB; mando CD.
22. et *deest* BD; *ib.* sic *deest* CD; *ib.* esset *pro* verum D; esset *pro* sic B.

CAPITULUM NONUM.

Discuciendo de multiplicacione corporis Christi in
hostia, necesse est primo videre quomodo est ibidem;
nec phas est fidelem ambigere quin corpus Christi sit
A 71d ad omnem punctum hostie, sicut | Christi humanitas,
non solum virtualiter, sed sacramentaliter; quomodo
autem sit ibidem, egregie declarat autor "De divinis
officiis"; et concordant doctores moderni, dicentes con-
corditer quod communiter in scriptura in predicacione
secundum causam signum suscipit predicacionem sui
Gen. XVIII, 2 signati; ut Genes. XVIII dicitur quod Abraham vidit tres
viros, tres vidit et unum adoravit, ubi angeli nedum
vocantur viri, sed eorum triplicitas signat trinitatem;
sicut enim illi vere erant viri et homines, sic Abraham
adoravit in eis trinitatem vel verbum dei, quem fide
Jo. VIII,56 vidit hominem incarnatum iuxta illud Joh. VIII. "Abraham
pater vester exultavit ut videret diem meum, vidit et
gavisus est." Iste autem est vir de quo dicitur Jer. XXXI
quod "mulier circumdabit virum". Nam pro primo in-
B 80d stanti incarnacionis sue fuit auto | nomatice vir virens
Ex. XXXII, 4 virtutibus. Secundo adducitur illud Exod. XXXI, ubi vitulus
conflatilis expresse vocatur vitulus, et tamen non habuit
nisi similitudinem vituli, ubi eciam patet signum vere
vocari nomine sui signati; nec dubium de isto; ideo
misticus sensus est querendus.

We may not doubt that Christ is present in every point of the Host; but how?

The sign, as doctors allow, is spoken of as the thing signified:

As Abraham adored one of the 3 angels, representing the Trinity;

As the molten image of a calf is called a calf.

Notatur enim ex ista historia, quod absente Moyse
legifero ydolatratur populus faciendo contra mandatum
domini apparenciam religionis vel elemosine. Sed dya-
bolus in penam prevaricacionis prioris aptat apparen-
ciam boni ad illam peccati voraginem, ad quam clerus

Hint at a likeness between the golden calf and Church temporalities.

10. casum BCD. 18. est *deest* AB. 19. multipliciter *pro* mulier AB.
27. preceptum A.

7. De Divinis Officiis (See t. 101, p. 1260 of Migne).

et | plebs est pronior ut ex dotacione ecclesie in Christi absencia. Ex hoc enim adulterantur dupliciter insolentes. A 72a

As the brazen serpent is called merely a serpent.

Tercio, adducitur textus Num. XXI, quod serpens eneus propter similitudinem dicitur simpliciter esse serpens; et illud notat Salvator Joh. tercio. "Sicut Moyses," inquit, "exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis." Cum autem in istis et eis similibus apparet utrobique veritas scripture de virtute sermonis, restat evacuando sterilitatem videre sensum alium. B. Num. XXI,8,9 Jo. III, 14

Development of the mystic signification of that sign.

Serpens autem carnalis signans calliditatem prudencie dicit dyabolum, quo genus humanum seducitur; et serpens eneus, ad quem intoxicati debemus aspicere, signat Christum venientem in similitudinem carnis peccati, ad cuius celestem prudenciam debemus attendere, et virtutes ac imitaciones eius, quantum sufficimus, intueri.

But does this prove that the angel, the calf or the serpent were absolute accidents? What is literally absurd must be taken figuratively.

Unde non presumo imponere doctoribus meis tam scandalosam stulticiam ut ipsi ex istis arguant accidens esse vel posse esse sine subiecto | cum scriptura utrobique signat contrarium; sed istud concludunt, quod predicacio nominis signati de nomine signi debet admitti, quod fidelis debet concedere secundum signanciam et figuram, ubi renuet predicacionem secundum substanciam vel naturam: ut patet in materia de eukaristia. B 81a

'But an accident, or an abstraction, is often called a subject: so the appearance of bread can be called bread'.

Sed arguitur per locum a sufficienti similitudine quod per idem accidens nominandum est nomine subiecti; ut accidencia panis et vini vocentur panis et vinum. C. Hic concedi debet conclusio, ut exemplificat scriptura, creberrime | dicens, et canit ecclesia: A 72b

"Jesu nostra redempcio,
Amor et desiderium."

True; but it does not follow that an accident can *be* without its subject.

Sed absit fidelem concludere ex isto, quod accidens potest esse sine subiecto, quia vel dicet quod omnis substancia est accidens et econtra, vel turpiter decipietur luciferina fallacia.

Every thing might then be an accident, and substance and accident would mean the same.

Sed iuxta primum concederet quod nedum Christus noster est solum accidens, sed nullum potest esse subiectum nisi accidens, et sic idem foret diffinire accidens esse sine subiecto et blaterare substanciam esse sine subiecto: quod foret verecunda stulticia. Si secundum accipit, tunc oportet discere soluciones fallaciarum, et specialiter fallaciam figure diccionis et

20. istud *deest* B. 33. diceret B.

30. Hymn at Compline, Vigil of the Ascension.

fallaciam accidentis. Nam accidens et figura decipiunt multos Magog, ut recitat Anshelmus in "De gramatico." "Si," inquiunt sophiste, "*gramaticus* est accidens, et omnis gramaticus vivit, componitur ex corpore et anima et facit qualescunque operaciones vitales; igitur res sic vivens et sic composita ac sic agens, est accidens." Mutatur autem supposicio a simplici in personalem, ut dicunt logici, cum in maiori gramaticus supponit simpliciter abstractive, et in minori supponit personaliter B 81[b] concretive. | Et sic equivocant negantes quod accidens et accidencium agregacio est panis sive substancia; et alii, concedentes in predicacione secundum subiectum vel causam predicaciones huiusmodi.

A fallacy: 'Grammarian' is an accidental quality; Does an accidental quality live, because the grammarian does?

You first suppose an abstraction, and then apply it to a person. So also for the Eucharist.

Ego autem precise utor predicacione formali vel essenciali, nisi limitet scripture auctoritas; et tunc detego equivocacionem predicacionis secundum simili- A 72[c] tudinem | vel secundum subiectum aut secundum causam; ut nego quod motus est mobile, et sic de aliis generibus D. accidentis, et est michi pro regula quod quandocunque scriptura utitur verbo substancie, vel intelligit ipsam substanciam vel perfecciorem substanciam; ut apostolus 1ª Cor. X et XI quando loquitur de sacramento altaris N. sub nomine panis intelligit substanciam veri panis. Sed Joh. VI veritas sub nomine panis intelligit perfecciorem substanciam, quia verbum domini figuratum; perfeccius enim trahit ad suum sensum, relicto sensu minus per- Ps. IV, 3 fecti. Sed postquam avaricia traxit graves corde ad diligendum vanitatem et querendum mendacium, intellexerunt ydolatre in sacramento altaris per "*panem*" accidens panis quodcunque voluerint, et deserentes proprietates veri panis naturalis, omiserunt effectualiter intelligere panem celestem, scilicet corpus Christi et sanctam ecclesiam, quorum utrumque non est accidens, sed celestis substancia; unde si non fallor, nunquam reperies in scriptura, quod nomine substancie principaliter intelligitur accidens, sed econtra. In figuris autem, ut quando vitulus et serpens signat substanciam inferioris nature, peccatum est in causa; et utrobique signatur idem in genere. Et nusquam in scriptura im- B 81[c] plicatur accidens esse sine subiecto. Sed sacramentum |

I should deny v. g. that movement is movable; for it is only an essence, not a subject.

Whenever Scripture speaks of a substance, it means either the substance itself, or something higher.

But now the word 'bread' is meant as the accidents of bread; and the higher meaning of Divine food is forgotten.

Scripture never literally means an accident by the name of a substance; only figuratively.

1. fallacie ACD. 11. vel *pro* et B; *ib.* est *pro* et C. 29. idolatre *deest* B. 39, 40. multiplicatur B.

2. Anselmus, De Grammatico, c. 1 (t. 158, p. 561 of Migne).

altaris dicit fides scripture esse in natura panem aut vinum et in figura corpus aut sanguinem Jesu Christi.

But the power of Gog is so great, that he publishes that Scripture is false, that lying is allowed, and that the sacramental bread is viler than what is vilest. So horrible a doctrine, condemned by Scripture, the Fathers, and reason, should be put down, even by fire.

Unde Gog in diebus nostris ad tantum invaluit, quod primo publicat per eos de tecto le | gem scripture divine A 72a esse falsissimam; secundo dicit per alios, quod nedum licitum, sed eciam meritorium est mentiri; et tercio dicit de sacramento altaris, quod sicud sacramentum panis est in natura infinitum inperfeccius quam panis ratonis, sic sacramentum calicis est in natura infinitum inperfeccius quam venenum. Et certum est, cum ista conclusio sit tantum horrenda, vel scriptura vel sancti doctores vel fortis racio urgeret hanc ponere. Modo E. autem militant hec tria ad directe contrarium. Ideo, ut dixi, quicunque pertinaciter ista defenderit est expresse hereticus; in tantum quod si ego ista defenderem, vellem quod essem combustus tanquam hereticus, vel quod errorem illum prope revocarem; et sic debet esse de aliis, cum non sit personarum accepcio aput deum.

Wyclif's doctrine: That the Sacrament is of a double nature, like the substance of Christ — earthly and divine; he will not however say that it is *identically* Christ's body but figuratively and as a sign. Yet not falsely nor improperly, but as truly as Christ's words are true. So there are not two bodies, but one — Christ's, as the principal.

Supponatur igitur iuxta autorem de divinis officiis, quod sicut Christus est due substancie, scilicet terrena et divina, sic hoc sacramentum est modo suo equivoco corpus panis sensibilis, qui de terra crevit, et corpus Christi quod verbum in Maria suscepit; et sicud verbum non amisit per incarnacionem substanciam eternam, sed mansit illa natura noviter faciendo aliquid quod prius non fuerat, sic quodammodo corpus panis, servando panis substanciam, est miraculose factum cum hoc corpus domini, non audeo dicere ydemptice secundum substanciam vel naturam, sed tropice secundum signanciam | vel figuram; non tamen false et inproprie B 81d dicitur corpus Christi, sed vere et proprie, sicut Christus vere et proprie dicit illum panem esse corpus suum. | Unde substancia sacramenti non debet dici duo A 73a corpora, sed unicum quod est principale et autonomatice corpus Christi.

It is thus that he understands the author of 'De divinis officiis',

Et sic intelligo autorem de divinis officiis, capitulo de offertorio misse; "prope", inquit, "est verbum fidei in corde tuo et in ore tuo, cuius verbi flumen si super panem et vinum effuderis, ordine quo ab ipso statutus est, statim de ipso dicto altari panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem suum transferendo suscipit eadem potencia virtute et gracia, qua nostram carnem de virgine Maria

4. de tecto cf. p. 77. 38. et in ore tuo *deest* AB.

suscipere potuit, quomodo voluit, nec duo corpora dicuntur aut sunt, hoc quod de altari et illud quod receptum est de utero virginis, quia videmus unum idemque verbum, unus idemque deus sursum est in carne, hic in pane. Alioquin et ille panis quem heri sacrificavimus et iste quem hodie vel cras sacrificabimus, plura sunt corpora; nec rite dicimus offerri pro ecclesia corpus domini, sed melius diceremus corpora, quia quotidie pene tot offerrimus panes, quot habentur in ecclesia sacerdotes: sed hoc prohibet causa, convincit racio. Unitas enim verbi, unitatem efficit sacramenti: sic enim unum verbum et olym carnem de Maria virgine sumpsit et nunc de altari salutarem hostiam accipit. Igitur unum corpus est, et quod de Maria genitum in cruce pependit et quod in sancto altari oblatum, 'quotidie nobis | ipsam innovat | passionem domini''. Pro istis et similibus verbis sanctorum notandum, quod non est intencionis eorum negare multa esse corporea panis et vini consecrata, sed omnia illa in figura unum sunt, sicut secundum beatum Johannem sunt spiritus aqua et sanguis. Et ita intelligunt non multa esse corpora domini in sacrificio, nec ipsum sacrificium et corpus domini esse univoce multa corpora; sed omnia illa esse quodammodo idem corpus longe perfeccius quam fuit oblacio legis veteris, cum Christus dicit de pane: "hoc est corpus meum"; et sic non dicit de agno paschali vel figura veteris testamenti.

B 82a A 73b F.

saying that 'one and the same God is above in the flesh, and here below in the bread';

That 'it is the same body which was born of Mary . . . . and is offered on the altar'. But these words of the Saints do not deny the plurality of the consecrated breads, which however are figuratively one.

Ideo negant sancti quod hoc sacramentum est pure panis aut tipus vel antitipus, cum sit veraciter corpus Christi et habet substanciam corporis Christi ad quamlibet eius partem. Unde sicut errant heretici de Christo, alii quod est pure creatura, et alii quod est creator et non creatura, sic est duplex heresis de sacramento altaris; ut illi dicunt quod est panis et vinum qui prefuit sed in natura inperfeccius quam panis furfuris vel venenum. Alii autem remissius heretici dicunt quod hoc sacramentum non est terrena substancia collecta de terre fructibus sed omnino ydemptice corpus Christi. Catholici autem dicunt, quod sicut Christus est duplex substancia, scilicet deitas et humanitas, et sic creator et creatura, sic sacramentum altaris in natura non est

They only deny that, having the substance of Christ in all its parts, it is mere bread.

A two-fold heresy: One saying that the bread remains, but in a most imperfect form.

The other, that there is but the identical body of Christ. Catholics say it is an earthly substance, but that this

12. Sicut B. 13. et — salutarem *bis* A. 18. corporea ABD.
35. surfuris AB. 41. est *deest* BCD.

should be forgotten and our attention fixed on Christ's body that it represents.

abiectum accidens, sed terrena substancia, cuius consideracio est sopita et in signacione, | figura vel modo A 73c quo apcius vocari potest, est sacramentaliter corpus Christi; ad quem sensum fidelis omnino debet attendere.

Et ista est | sentencia synodi ecclesie sub Nicolao 2°, B 82b ut patet de consecracione distinccione 2, capitulo *Ego Berengarius*. Et ista est plane sentencia autoris "*De divinis officiis*," ut patet superius. Et ne ecclesia tradat oblivioni istam sentenciam, incorporatur in secreto secunde misse nativitatis domini sub hiis verbis: "Munera nostra quesumus domine nativitatis hodierne apta proveniant, ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis hec terrena substancia conferat quod divinum est". G.

The Church says: "As Christ, begotten a man, shone forth as God, so may this terrestrial substance give unto us what is divine." So the earthly substance is not destroyed but changed for the better.

Unde notum est quod loquitur de terrena substancia que est sacramentum, quod illa sit medium conferendi nobis divinam substanciam, cum panis fiet virtute verborum sacramentalium corpus Christi sicut homo Jesus refulsit deus. Tunc enim aptantur munera solemnitati ecclesie. Secundo patet, quod non est intencionis ecclesie dicere quod hec terrena substancia in consecracione destruatur vel desinat, sed sicut dicit Augustinus recreetur in melius; et, ut dicit Ambrosius, ut fiat et fit veraciter corpus Christi, quia aliter non illa terrena substancia, sed unum abiectum et ignotum accidens conferret ecclesie hoc divinum.

And Christ was man and God at the same time: so the comparison of the Church is perfect.

Nec valeret ordo verborum, nisi sicut eadem persona maneret simul homo et deus, sic idem sacramentum maneret in natura, licet equivoce terrena substancia et divina. Nam terrena substancia pertinencius expectat benediccionem quam accidens, ut patet supra per autorem *De divinis* | *officiis*. A 73d

That God's presence should destroy the bread's nature is absurd.

Ideo ridiculum foret quod hostia usque ad benediccionem remaneret substancia; et per benediccionem, quando fieret panis deifer, destruatur mutata hostia in infinitum deterius. Et nota quod dicit "hec munera" H. que sunt | oblata, hostia consecranda in corpus Christi B 82c non frustra destruenda, esse terrenam substanciam, non benedicendum accidens ignoratum, ut creditur istis mille annis; accepta fuit ab universali ecclesia hec sentencia beati Ambrosii.

That sects of yesterday should prevail over so pious,

Ideo grave videtur quod secte hesterne destruerent tam pios usus, tam antiquos atque

6. capitulo *deest* B. 15. quod BC. 33. mutata *deest* BCD.

10. Sarum Missal, *ubi supra*. 22. Ambr. De Sacramentis, l. IV, c. I. (t. 16, p. 440 of Migne).

catholicos; ista enim fides antiqua mansit in ecclesia quousque per cultores signorum et antichristianam heresim est cecata. Unde, De consecracione distinccione 2 capitulo. *"Hoc est,"* dicitur sub auctoritate Augustini sacrificium ecclesie duobus constare scilicet visibili elementorum specie et invisibili domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine sicut Christi persona constat ex deo et homine. In omnibus autem istis oportet cavere hereses de idemptificacione et inpanacione in quibus laborant ydolatre, et ex alio latere cavere heresim stultissimam de accidentacione, quod accidens sit per se sacramentum et per consequens corpus Christi; et secure ire per medium istorum errorum notando equivocaciones predicacionum, in quibus non est contradiccio; dicente Augustino super psalmo XCVIII et ponitur De consecracione distinccione 2ª capitulo. *"Non hoc corpus*
A 74ª *quod videtis:"* "Manducaturi estis et bibituri | estis illum sanguinem quem effusuri sunt illi qui me crucifigent; ipsum quidem et non ipsum, ipsum invisibiliter, non ipsum visibiliter". Credendum est itaque quod indigne celebrante et inrite Christum commemorante est corpus Christi virtualiter, et cum hoc in pane sacramentaliter dicente autore De divinis officiis, capitulo *De secreto*
B 82ᵈ *misse,* | "quod vivo pro flumine verbi dei super panem et vinum confluente tam veram divinitatem veramque humanitatem Christi in celo sedentis et regnantis excipimus, quam veram substanciam ignis a sole supposita cristalli sphera exigua fere quottidie mutuare possumus.

ancient and Catholic a belief is most grievous.

According to Augustine, the sacrifice consists of visible elements and the Invisible Lord.

But let us beware of the 'identification' and 'impanation' heresy, and of that stupid heresy of the accidents.

Christ's blood in the Sacrament is the same and not the same as on the Cross; the same invisibly, not the same visibly," as Augustine says.

And the author of De Divinis Officiis: "Christ's body is received in the Host, as the true substance of the sun's fire is got through a burning lens."

In talibus autem devotis exemplis oportet cavere de heresi, ne ex totali similitudine concludatur quod corpus Christi sit dimensionaliter in hostia secundum naturam corporis glorificati, vel quod ipsum fit ex pane vel atteritur in natura sua, sed in signo solummodo; ut dicit decretum Nicolai 2°. Per ista patet de multiplicacione, quomodo corpus Christi nedum est virtualiter ad omnem punctum hostie consecrate, sed est significative quelibet particula illius hostie; et sic vere multiplicatur per totam hostiam modo suo.

But these pious instances must not bring us to fancy that Christ's body is present in its dimensions, &c. Only as in a sign, according to Pope Nicholas' decree.

2. quosque B. 13. negando BCD. 21. Christi *pro* est B. 22. sacravit B. 23. autore *deest* B. 28. mutare; mutuare *in marg.* A. 30. tali *corr. from* totali A.

3. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars, Dist. II, c. 48. 16. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars, Dist. II, c. 45. 21. Some words are probably wanting here in the MSS.

Two opinions: one, that it is formally the body of Christ, and yet not in its dimensions; the other, that Christ is neither formally nor essentially anything in the Host. Wyclif prefers the second. How great is the Body? As great as the Host.

Et si queratur quid est corpus Christi formaliter in hostia, dicitur quod corpus Christi est realiter corpus Christi et ipsa hostia ac quelibet eius particula." Sed formaliter dicunt quidam, quod est corpus Christi et quicquid est per se primo; non tamen est dimensionaliter in hostia quia non in sua natura, licet sit illud quod est dimensionaliter in hostia. Alii autem dicunt quod corpus Christi non est formaliter quicquam in hostia, | sicut homo A 74b est eternaliter in deo et tamen non est formaliter aliquid sic in deo. Et sicut corpus Christi non est essencialiter in hostia, sic non est aliquid essencialiter ibidem. Et in ista equivocacione laborant multi. Et ista secunda via est michi plus consona. Et si queratur, quantum est corpus Christi, ibidem dicitur, quod tantum quanta est hostia vel quelibet eius particula, cum sit illa. Et tota quantitas corporis Christi in celo | non est in B 83a sacramento, sed qualitas activa potest dici esse ibidem virtualiter, non dimensionaliter, secundum naturam propriam, cum impossibile sit accidens esse alicubi, nisi secundum suum subiectum ibi principalius existens. Et K. si obiciatur quod humanitas Christi nedum est virtualiter in sacramento sed ad omnem punctum regni Christi, quid igitur est ibidem? dici potest, quod virtus regitiva mundi; et sic, cum sit dei virtus et dei sapiencia, est realiter ipse deus.

Objection: If Christ be only present virtually, He is just as well present throughout all His Kingdom. So He is really present, as God's Power and Wisdom. Is Christ all in all things? Let us believe the Bible and go no farther. But after the Judgment day we may say that then all things will be God, figuratively. And accidents then? If God assumes them,

Utrum autem deus sit omnia in omnibus ut dicit apostolus, et sic multiplicatissimus, videtur michi prudencia concedere scripturam ut fidem et non plus sapere quam oportet. Posset tamen probabiliter dici quod post diem iudicii deus erit omnia in omnibus, cum omnia signabunt eum esse summam sapienciam et summam virtutem. Nunc autem quamvis hoc idem signant, cum quadam tamen respersione rebellionis deo contrarie hoc faciunt; sed pro tunc detrudentur in infernum quecunque sunt tunc contraria Christo, passura penam iustissimam. Nec tunc ebullient in iniusticias, sicut modo. Ideo, secundum famosam predicacionem que capitur a signo, concedi potest quod tunc | omnes sub- A 74c stancie erunt deus; accidencia autem et specialiter quantitates non memini deum assumere; sed concesso secundum predicacionem signacionis, quod deus erit

2. Christi *deest* B. 6, 7. quia — hostia *deest* A. 14. quantum B. 27. multiplicatissima A. 33. responsione D; *ib.* rebellione ABD. 35. passam D. 41. significacionis B.

huiusmodi qualitates, manifeste patet quod iste non sunt accidencia sine subiecto, cum sint naturaliter in substanciis et secundum signanciam deus ipse. Nec fundatur alicubi quod ista que sunt in natura accidencia sint substancie non inherencia, cum naturalis passio accidentis sit substancie inherere.

they will certainly not be absolute; besides, their substances will still continue to exist.

Alia enim ponitur racio philosophorum univoca licet B 83[b] ana | loga cuiuslibet essencie create, et multo magis alia est racio accidentis: que non est fingenda, ut patet in respectibus, nisi formaliter inherere. Et patet quante difficultatur ecclesia secundum scolam dyaboli de multiplicacione corporis Christi, cum fundamentum illius scole sit fictum mendacium ab utilibus occupacionibus retractum. Nec valent evidencie quibus arguitur hoc subiacere potestati divine. Sicut enim deus non potest facere eandem rem in numero esse simul per diversa instancia, sic non potest facere eandem essenciam materialem esse simul per diversa loca, nec diversas substancias materiales esse simul tempore per eundem locum adequatum; cum corpora secundum dotem subtilitatis se ipsa penetrant, et non sunt proprie coextensa; deus enim non potest in contradiccionem. Et quante distinccio instancium individuatur a distinccione motuum, tante individuatur distinccio situum a distensione essenciarum materialium.

Every being has its own essence and that of the accident is 'the belonging to a subject'.

And even God's power cannot make it not to belong to a subject.

For God cannot do what involves contradiction.

Et patet solucio ad primum argumentum factum in A 74[d] fine proximi contra opinionem | secundam, pro prima L. ficticia. Et per hec patet responsio ad secundum argumentum. Non enim admittitur, quod eadem materialis essencia sit simul secundum naturam suam per diversa loca; et sic Petrus non posset mori vel mutari in Anglia, cum hoc quod simul mutetur contrariis vel quomodocunque in Yndia. Nec oportet subtiliare, quas denominaciones esset possibile eandem materialem essenciam habere simul per diversa loca, quia deficit possibilitas fundamenti. Et per hec patet responsio ad tercium, negando possibilitatem diversarum materiarum simul B 83[c] per eadem | loca, quia tunc variaretur situs ad variacionem materie; et forent multi situs coextensi.

This answers both the first and the second argument at the end of the former chapter, in favour of the first opinion. The same thing cannot be at once in several places. Therefore: Peter could not die in India, without dying in England.

Et quantum ad miracula, dictum est alibi diffuse, secundum senteneiam Augustini, quod in miraculis

As for the miracles alleged, we may say with

3. significativa B. 7. Aliqua AD. 8. cuilibet B. 9. aliqua CD; *corr. from* alia A. 22. in *deest* B. 23. distensione *omnes MSS.*; distinccione *in marg.* A. 24. statuum B. 35. simul *deest* B.

Augustine that new matter was invisibly supplied; as in the case of the loaves.

Christi subito vel insensibiliter ministrabantur aliene materie que cum aliis comixte sunt; et faciunt tam numerosam multitudinem, sine hoc quod eadem materialis essencia pro eodem instanti occupet tales situs. Et sic, sicut quinque panes fuerunt quasi fermentum

So too of Adam's rib; matter was not multiplied, but supplied.

toti pani ex quo saciata sunt tot milia hominum, sic est de costa viri, quo ad fabricam mulieris. Aliquid enim fit parcialiter ex alio, ut in exemplis propositis, et aliquid fit totaliter ex alio, quando est rei facte adequata materia. Unde quia materia de qua fit mencio, fuit secundum hystoriam notoria et principalis in opere; ideo dicitur, quod tale compositum fit ab illo. Et quantum

As for Ambrose being at present at St. Martin's funeral, and elsewhere at the same time, it is incredible.

ad beatum Ambrosium, patet quod nulla experiencia potest convincere, quod eadem persona secundum ultimum singulare | sue materie, fuit simul in exequiis A 75[a] beati Martini et distanter alibi; deus tamen posset aptare eidem anime corpora quantumcunque similia et

But God may give a second similar body to a man: which is quite a different question.

sic facere eundem hominem esse simul secundum diversa corpora in diversis locis. Nec circa hoc versatur ista difficultas. Et eodemmodo posset dici quod puer cruentatus posset apparere in sacramento altaris, qui sit Christus secundum animam, licet corpus eius in celo resideat; vel vere credatur ut absolute necessarium, quod non est possibile idem corpus in numero multi-

On the whole, taking each of these two first explanations, neither is far from heresy.

plicari simul per diversa loca distancia: et sic, discussa veritate utriusque istarum viarum, neutra | multum distat B 83[d] a via heretica.

First objection: The soul can be in many places at once, in each God can give it a body; thus, one man would be in many places.

Sed replicatur contra dicta de multiplicacione per M. hoc, quod anima potest esse simul per diversa loca, et ubicunque ipsa fuerit, deus potest aptare sibi idem corpus in numero; igitur stat idem singulare multiplicari simul per loca distancia. Et illud confirmatur per hoc quod, si anima multiplicetur et ipsa est homo, tunc homo multiplicatur. Hic dicitur, quod tota difficultas est de multiplicacione nature corporee, quod ipsa sit simul per diversa loca secundum suam substanciam:

Answer. This cannot be: God could not put a thousand bodies into one square foot. And besides, it is not likely that any spirit could be thus in two *separate* places.

quod negatur. Sed quantum ad materiam argumenti, dicitur quod deus non potest ubicunque fuerit anima aptare sibi corpus distinctum adequatum, quia tunc foret in quantumcunque modico situ globus corporum infinitus; et videtur probabiliter, quod spiritus creatus non posset per situs intercisos, sed quantumcunque

33. autem B.

distanter posset situari, cum hoc quod determinet sibi situm per subtiliacionem situs, per quem multiplicatur; ut, licet potest esse in utroque polo simul, huic tamen repugnat, quod non sit in medio intercepto, et situs tam longus posset gracilitari ad distanciam liniarem; et ita non videtur possibile isti vie, quod idem spiritus secundum idem corpus in numero sit per loca distancia; idem autem spiritus posset esse simul per loca distancia secundum corpora similia. Utrum autem idem spiritus posset esse simul intercise per loca est problema neutrum multis, cum spiritus in natura sua non occupat locum, et ex celeritate motus corporis alterati ab insensibili ad sensibilem, a loco abscondito ad patentem, fit crebro sensus decepcio.

This, however, is a problem hard to solve, and apt to beget delusions.

B 84ª N. Secundo replicatur contra | dicta de multiplicacione, per hoc quod multi et magni doctores tenent contrarium istis dictis, nec efficaciter inprobantur. Igitur pro magnificanda omnipotencia dei defendi debent ne incidantur in heresim. Hic dicitur quod maior est vera, sed conclusioni inpertinens, cum iidem multi et magni doctores sunt sibi ipsis contrarii; ideo fundare super ipsos quamcunque sentenciam foret nimis instabile fundamentum. Nam solum scriptura sacra, que includit in se omnem racionem, est fundamentum cui fidelis debet attendere. Unde videtur michi religiosum, quod Christianus stet in fide, et discussione huius triplicis veritatis: in veritate in scriptura sacra exemplificata, in veritate ab infallibili racione elaborata, et in veritate A 75ᶜ assensu cognita. Omnia autem | alia, licet vera, sunt tanquam apocrifa respuenda; ut unus pro uno tempore sentit et noscit veritatem cuius noticia est alteri inpertinens tunc et semper; et sic excuteret fidelis rumorum audiciones et prophanas cronicas; quod videtur hodie eo necessarius, quo pater mendacii sollicicius est cum Gog et Magog per mendacia perturbans ecclesiam. Et quantum ad materias scolastice practicandas, videtur michi quod standum est in declaracione fidei scripture cum sua logica. Et isti regule innitebantur doctores de millenario Christi; ideo sunt ut plurimum concordati. O. Sed fantastici, querentes vanum nomen subtilitatis sue,

Second objection: The contrary opinion would not be sustained by so many and great doctors, were it heresy. *Answer.* These very doctors contradict each other. We cannot found any opinion upon them; only on Holy Writ. Three sorts of truth: truths of revelation, truths of deduction, and truths of intuition. All other authorities are to be rejected, even when right.

The logic of Holy Writ is the best scholastic method of all, and ought to be followed. Vain men, seeking renown, forget this rule, and go astray.

1. determinet C. 3. posset BCD. 4 intercepcio B. 7. idem *post* secundum *deest* B. 8. idem — distancia *deest* BCD. 9. Utrumque D. 13. ad sensibile C. 18, 19. incidatur BCD. 21. supremis B. 28. ineffabili B. 31. nescit BCD. 32. fides B. 38. inmitebantur D.

8

fuerunt pro millenario mendacii multipliciter evagati. Et hec racio quare in scriptis eorum tot repugnancie sunt reperte, et specialiter in veritatibus de possibili.

Any proposition ought to be rejected 1st if it is manifestly impossible, or 2nd if it does not belong to the three classes of truth just mentioned.

Ideo videtur michi | religiosum concedere predictam B 84b triplicem veritatem de possibili, et aliam quamcunque renuere. Unde, quando proponitur talis proposicio de possibili, videtur michi quod potest abici propter duo: primo, quia est manifeste impossibilis; sicut sunt multe moderne proposiciones de multiplicacione eukaristie, et alie novelle propter curiositatem fantasticam introducte; secundo, quia non patet eius possibilitas ex predicta triplici veritate; et sic nego multas proposiciones de possibili; non quia scio eas efficaciter improbare, sed quia non sunt de numero predicte triplicis veritatis; | et sic sophistis sum dissonus, scole evaganti A 75d contrarius, et propter religionem Christi fatuus reputatus.

The answer to the foregoing difficulty is therefore to deny that the soul can be multiplied in two *separate* places at once. Still it might absolutely be granted, though a useless question; but the multiplication of matter is absurd.

Et patet exoneracio difficultatis predicte, cum nec admittitur animam multiplicari per loca disparia intercise, nec cum informacione corporis extra ipsum informiter per situs sibi continuos evagari: probato tamen quod tale sit possibile, volo ipsum admittere, si non assit michi occupacio utilior; tamen iste cui foret occupacio laudabilis posset dicere quod eadem substancia spiritualis posset simul continue vel intercise, communi cum actuacione corporis vel sine, multiplicari per loca quantumcunque distancia et simul gaudere vel tristari de eodem secundum diversas potencias, vel disparem racionem; sed destrui non potest, cum sit naturaliter immortalis. Multiplicacio autem nature corporee propter manifestam contradiccionem est neganda ad sensum expositum.

The rule laid down, if carried out, would enable theologians to devote their time to more useful matters. The doctrine that spirits could be in two places at once, though erroneous, is less so than the other.

Sed videtur quod scole predicte regule debemus inniti, cum tunc studium et occupacio theologica forent utiliter breviata, et tota | lex imperialis et antichristiana B 84c cum privatis regulis ordinum, suspensa a consideracione fidelium, et multo evidencius ymaginaciones fantastice errabunde. Unde videtur michi quod foret minus hereticum admittere situm corporeum per multiplicacionem substancie spiritualis, subducta omni materia, quam ponere situm corporeum fundatum in situacione huiusmodi accidentis, subducta omni materiali substancia: | A 76a

20. continue BCD; *corr.* A; *ib.* probacio B. 24. commune A; *ib.* cum *deest* BC. 35. a *deest* CD.

sed utrumque credo omnipotencie dei repugnare. Ideo scola antichristi creditur lapsa in heresim per multa blasfema mendacia de dei omnipotencia.

P. Tercio replicatur per hoc quod Christus et per consequens corpus suum potest esse quelibet creatura; et per consequens est summe multiplicabile. Nec tollitur instancia per hoc quod non quilibet est ydemptice sed solum tropice corpus Christi; quia, si Petrus est Paulus, est evidencius idem Paulo, cum triplex sit ydemptitas, scilicet generalis, specialis et numeralis. Ideo videtur sequi, si quidlibet sit corpus Christi, tunc est idem suo corpori, non econtra; et stant raciones alibi facte de ydemptificacione. Sicut enim Christus potuit de pane dixisse: „Hoc est corpus meum"; ita de quolibet alio assignando; et per consequens potuit ydemptificasse quidlibet sibi ipsi; et currunt argumenta multiplicia.

Third objection: Anything might be the body of Christ as well as bread; therefore his body is multipliable. For in every theory the word *is* implies a certain amount of identity between subject and predicate.

Hic dicitur quod laboratur in equivocis, cum multi errando credunt quod panis tantum ydemptificatur corpori Christi, quod nec sit inter illa realis distinccio, nec distinccio racionis; et per hoc intelligo ydemptifica-
B 84d cionem numeralem, quam dico non posse fieri. | In predicacionem autem signativam vel tropicam, non negabit qui sacram scripturam admittit. Ideo concedo ad sensum equivocum predicandi predicacionem huiusmodi figurativam, stante diversitate naturarum cum signis simplicibus; et nego predicacionem huiusmodi
A 76b cum signis specificatis per istum terminum in numero | vel sibi equivalens; ut concedo cum Augustino quod septem spice sunt septem anni, quod Baptista est Helias, quod petra erat Christus; et tamen nego quod subiecta ista sint idem in numero predicatis, cuiusmodi loquendi fundamentum est scripture sacre auctoritas. Verumtamen notandum quod in predicacione ista secundum signifi-
Q. cacionem vel figuram sunt gradus multiplices. Primus gradus et supremus est quando figura presupponit in

Answer: This is an equivocation. Numeral identity implies that between the subject and the predicate there shall be neither real nor logical distinction: which is denied. The subject *is* identical with the predicate, but not in number.

For instance, John Baptist *is* Elias; i. e. identical in so far as one is the figure of the other. But no further.

2. videtur B. 11. est *deest* B. 16. multiplicicia C. 18. panis *deest* B. 23. concedit AB. 30. quod *deest* BCD. 30—33. subjecta — quod *in marg.* A.

6. This is to a great extent an argument *ad hominem.* We must remember Wyclif's position as a Realist, admitting that universals exist *a parte rei,* in the same way as they do in our minds. When we say, *A dog is an animal;* and, *A cat is an animal*, *animality* is absolutely the same in *dog* as in *cat.* It would follow that the dog and the cat are identical *a parte rei.* Wyclif escapes by a distinction.

Three degrees of figurative identity; 1st when the figure requires the miraculous coexistence of the thing figured;

tempore figuratum, et requirit virtuosam et miraculosam eius existenciam ad quemlibet eius punctum; et secundo, ut figuratum quod mentiri non poterit asserat figuram eiusmodi esse figuratum; et isto modo panis et vinum verbo Christi consecrata fiunt et sunt corpus Christi et sangwis. Et facere tam magnum miraculum est Christo proprium, quem apostolus dicit ad Hebr. primo (Hebr. I, 3) esse figuram substancie dei patris: nec hoc est sibi difficile, cum sit ille qui *dixit et facta sunt omnia;* (Ps. XXXII, 9)

2nd when one thing becomes the type of another by the institution of the Holy Ghost;

secundus gradus et medius est, quando spiritus sanctus instituit unam rem distantem in tempore aliam figurare; et ille gradus non requirit preexistenciam et virtualem coexistenciam figurati cum sua figura, sed econtra; et isto modo oblaciones et sacrificia legis veteris figurarunt res de lege | nova, dicente apostolo II ad Cor. de (B 85a) patribus legis veteris quod omnia in figura contingebant (I. Cor. X, 11) illis. Et talis figura vocatur proprie tipus; et frequenter predicantur de se | invicem in scriptura, et quandoque (A 76c) removentur a se invicem secundum predicaciones equivocas in figura et in natura, ut sepe dictum est. Sed

3rd When anything is naturally the sign of another: as smoke is the sign of fire, or an accident of its subject.

tercius gradus et infimus est, quando ex ordinacione nature create effectus figurat naturaliter suam causam. Et isto modo fumus signat ignem, et quodlibet accidens sensibile suum subiectum, et sepe nomina eorum de se invicem predicantur. Et sic oportet notare pro scriptura intelligenda predicacionem figuralem, predicacionem essencialem, predicacionem substancialem, cum suis subdivisionibus et signis limitantibus. Et noticia equi-

A confusion between these identities and absolute identity has led great minds astray.

vocacionis dissolvit apparencias contradiccionis. Et forte in ista equivocacione de gradibus predicacionis figuralis laborarunt Berengarius, Lanfrancus, Wymundus; et alii, ymo multi et magni, usque hodie sunt cecati.

Granting that Christ can be all in all, we grant the multiplication of his body, not in substance nor in place, but in figure. Thus the confusion of numeral identity is not to be feared.

Istis premissis, admitto ut supra quod deus sit omnia (R.) in omnibus et sic quod equivoce multiplicetur, non secundum substanciam et situm, sed secundum signum; cum sit equivoce multorum singulum, et tamen omnia illa differunt essencialiter a se invicem et a deo. Ideo non contingit ex istis confusio, sicut sequitur ex ydemptificacione, ut patet alibi; sic eciam corpus Christi et tota eius humanitas multiplicatur secundum suos limites aliter in eukaristia et aliter per loca, ubi sua species

1. tempus BCD. 13. coexistenciam vel existenciam figurati B.
15. II *omnes MSS.* 16. contingebantur B. 18, 19. in — invicem *deest* BCD.
25. principiantur B; *ib.* figura *pro* scriptura B. 38. confuso AB.

vel virtus diffunditur. Nec oportet, si quelibet particula hostie sit corpus Christi, quod propterea quelibet earum A 76d sit quelibet, | aut non aliter sit in sacramento quam B 85b ut est virtualiter ubilibet, vel in celo. | Natura enim panis sacramentalis remanet, et sic numerabiliter distinguuntur multe hostie consecrate, licet omnes ille sint corpus Christi, sicut multa supposita sunt sua species et tamen numeraliter distinguuntur. Et conformiter de accidentibus et subiectis: ut subiectum est multa accidencia distincta in genere, et econtra, licet non sit aliquod istorum idemtice, sive formaliter, sed solum signative. Et istud vellem eos attendere, qui ponunt accidencia esse sine subiecto; accidens enim non est essencialiter subiectum, sed subiectaliter vel subiective significative; ideo oportet exprimere predicacionem equivocam et in sensu univoco convenire. Nec audeo dicere quod corpus Christi sit, vel multiplicetur, secundum suam substanciam vel naturam in hostia consecrata, quia secundum autorem "De divinis officiis" in sacramento altaris est vita spiritualis non animalis, quia aliter posset ex se progredi, sicut homo. Et tolluntur instancie quibus alii de scola contraria laqueantur.

Each Host is Christ's body; yet it is distinct from every other, on acount of the nature of bread that remains: as individuals, belonging to the same class, are yet numerically distinct.

This principle applied to the doctrine of absolute accidents: an accident is but the sign of the subject, not the subject itself. Christ's life in the Sacrament is spiritual, not animal; so we may not say that the nature or substance is multiplied.

S. Et patet quomodo fideles qui videntur contrarii in materia ista equivocant, ut hii concedunt quod corpus Christi videtur oculo corporali, atteritur et quantumcunque varie transmutatur; quorum sensus sanus non fingitur, nisi quia panis sanctificatus sic variatur qui est equivoce corpus Christi. Illi autem negant quod corpus Christi oculariter videtur in hostia, vel aliter A 77a transmutatur: quod potest dupliciter sane intelligi; vel | quia corpus Christi in natura sua non sic movetur, vel quia sacramentum non sub racione qua est corpus Christi sic se habet. Alii autem ad tantum desipiunt B 85c quod ignorantes equivocaciones et sensuum | distinciones dealbantur veneno heretico; quia secundum Averoys, assuefacti inpossibilibus tanquam assuefacti veneno letifero, ipsa accipiunt ex conswetudine tanquam vera. Et sic pater mendacii per ignoranciam equivocacionis decipit scolam suam et facit simplices abhorrere, quod ille panis non sit corpus Christi, nisi secundum figuranciam et figuram; quia per idem ut

Some say that we see Christ's body with the bodily eye; this is an equivocation; they mean the sanctified bread. Yet they deny that we see Christ corporally: which may be true; but their distinctions are heretical.

4. est *pro* enim D. 15. significacione B. 27. ergo *pro* quia B. 34. sensum B. 34, 35. non distincciones BCD; *ib. after distincciones* h A. 35. debeantur *omnes MSS.*

How this bread is the body of Christ, though in figure and not by identity, is quite inexplicable to us: but to say that the bread does not remain is apostasy.

suggerit quidlibet quod ipsum corpus significat, foret eque veraciter corpus Christi. Modus autem quo ille panis est corpus Christi, licet sit figurativus et non ydempticus est inexplicabilis a nobis viantibus, licet in confuso sciamus, quod non sit naturaliter corpus Christi; et verba doctorum multos infatuant, qui dicunt quod post consecracionem non est panis eo quod non est tunc principalissime corpus panis; et propor cionabilis equivocacio fit inter apostatas.

5. non inconfuse B.

CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Tractando de quidditate sacramenti altaris, oportet primo supponere predictam sentenciam *de divinis officiis*, capitulo de quidditate sacramenti altaris quod est in natura substancia et corpus panis et vini et in significacione et figura est corpus Christi et sangwis; quam sentenciam est inpossibile inpugnare. Secundo recitabitur per viam opinionis sentencia communis de quidditate accidentis. Et tercio procedetur profundius A 77b rimando sentenciam de quidditate huius | sacramenti, in qua discordant doctores.

What is the essence of the Sacrament? 1st We shall lay down that it is in nature bread; in signification, Christ's body. 2nd Examine the common opinion about accidents. And 3rd Investigate the essence of the Sacrament.

Supposito autem primo, quantum ad secundum pro noticia accidentis, notandum secundum Avicennam quod ens prima impressione imprimitur; sive igitur senciendo sive cogitando rem esse, cognoscitur prima essencia et B 85d sic deus; et cum | unumquodque sicut se habet ad esse sic ad cognosci in illo analogo, cognoscitur prius essencia substancie quam essencia accidentis. Ad generalem itaque noticiam post istam analogam, expergefacit sensibilis noticia accidentis, iuxta illud Aristotelis, primo posteriorum in principio: "Omnis noticia intellectiva, (*supple* quidditativa) oritur ex preexistente noticia sensitiva". Nam sensus communis cognoscit primo ens analogum ex mocione sensibilis, et prius cognoscitur subiectum ut tale quam accidens tanquam tale. Et hinc Porphirius ponit subiectum in descripcione accidentis: omne tamen ens sub uno involucro primo sub esse concipitur.

Avicenna's position that: pure Being is known in the thought that a thing is.

If so, 'substance' is known before 'accident'.

Videndo igitur essenciam sacramenti ut est alba vel aliter accidentata, videtur albedo, rotunditas vel aliud

Thus when we see the Sacrament 'as white' &c., we

1. Capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 4. *hiatus after* capitulo AB. 5. vinum B. 16. quoque B. 27. sub uno *deest* CD; *ib.* fuisse BCD. 28. est *deest* B.

13. Avicenna (properly *Husain ibn Âbd-Allah*, called *Ibn-Sina*), born in Persia 980 A. D.; died 1037 A. D. His works, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (XIIth century) were first printed in Venice, 1483 and following years. 21. Aristotle begins the work in question with these words: *Πᾶσα διδασκαλία καὶ πᾶσα μάθησις διανοητικὴ ἐκ προϋπαρχούσης γίνεται γνώσεως.* 25. Porph. Isagoge.

see whiteness &c. in it, not separately. It is therefore impossible to understand that any accident can exist without the essence of which it forms a part.

accidens, cum albedo sit essenciam substancie esse albam. Et ita de aliis. Et hinc vere dicit doctor Egidius [B.] quod homo non potest intelligere essenciam-substancialem esse accidentatam sine substancia subiecta. Sic igitur videmus colorem, figuram et quantitatem sacramenti, dum videmus essenciam esse coloratam vel figuratam; quia hoc est illud accidens. Sed iuxta Lincolniensem forte nos non consideramus de quidditate essencie sic

And although the bread may cease to be in our thoughts, it does not cease to sustain the accidents.

accidentate, cum tota intencio nostra debet suspendi in | [A 77c] corpus Christi quod est perfeccius quam panis materialis; licet autem desinat esse in actu consideracionis nostre, non tamen desinit esse vel visa accidencia subiectare.

As God is the basis of all creatures, so substance is the basis of all accidents. Quantity only means "the being great of substance" either in number (as a people) or in magnitude (as lines, surfaces, volumes).

Et ex ista consideracione potest patere fideli philosopho distinccio accidentis; sicut enim substancia divina est basis cuilibet creature, sic genus create substancie est basis cuilibet accidenti. Sic quod quantitas sit veritas que est "substanciam esse quantam": | [B 86a] quod intelligi potest dupliciter; vel quo ad multitudinem vel quo ad magnitudinem. Prima quantitas est numerus, ut populus qui est una persona est multitudo hominum. Si autem persona sit magna, hoc intelligi potest tripliciter: vel quod sit linealiter magna quod est linea, vel superficialiter magna quod est superficies, vel corporee magna quod est corporeitas, crassitudo vel altitudo. Quantitas autem rei in comparacione ad partes suas intelligi potest dupliciter: vel quo ad locacionem aut situacionem, vel quo ad duracionem.

Likewise of situation and duration;

Primo modo est locus vel situs qui est veritas, que est mundum situari vel locari secundum se aut aliquam sui partem. Unde locus expanditur per totum mundum, sed duracio mundi secundum transmutacionem est tempus. Et ab illis duobus generibus quantitatis originantur duo generalissima ubi et quando, sic quod ubicacio sit locacio partis mundi, et quandalitas sit duracio partis mundi. Et sicut ubicacio mensuratur situ mundi, sic quandalitas mensuratur tempore, ut docet autor "Sex | [A 77d] Principiorum". Et ita consideran-

1. significat *pro* sit B. 4. substancia *deest* D. 9. accidentato AB; *ib.* intencione C. 15. sic B. 35. Et sic CD.

2. *Egidius.* I can find only two writers of this name. One was archbishop of York in the XII[th] century; the other was a deacon of Paris who wrote some Latin poems about the year 1200. Nothing that remains of their writings bears on the subject. 36. Gislebertus Porretanus (Gilbert de la Porée), Bishop of Poitiers, and author of the short but valuable treatise here quoted (see t. 188, p. 1258 of Migne). It was commented by Albert the

dum est de aliis generibus accidentis. Cum autem deus sit veritas, patet quod sicut non potest permittere creaturam esse sine se ipso, sic non potest permittere accidens esse sine subiecto; quia, secundum apostolum 2ª Thim. II°, Deus verax est, se ipsum negare non potest. Talia autem accidencia quandoque intelliguntur nominaliter abstractive, et quandoque occasionaliter concretive, ut dicit Aristoteles in *post predicamentis* de "cecitate" et "cecum esse", et conformiter equivocatur in deo et universitate | creata. Sicut igitur deus mandat fidelibus quod vocent sacramentum altaris panem vere indubie, sic pater mendacii precipit scole sue quod vocet mendaciter sacramentum altaris accidens sine subiecto, ut per illud mendacium subtrahatur subiectus huic venerabili sacramento. Sed non erubesco ewangelium vocando hoc sacramentum panem, sicut spiritus sanctus vocat; et detestando conclusiones patris mendacii, quod ipsum sit panis infinitum abieccior in natura quam panis equi vel ratonis, cum sit panis celestis, panis sanctus, et quodammodo corpus Christi. In natura vero sua est panis triticeus, panis azimus et panis fructibus terre elementatus et pistus, propter sensum misticum quem meminit Augustinus. Constat autem quod nec quantitas fermentatur, subicitur sic accidentibus vel pinsatur.

II. Tim. II, 13

B 86ᵇ

Now, as no creature can exist without God, so no accident can exist without its subject.

But these abstract words that denote the accidents are sometimes employed concretely for the subject. Thus the Devil employs the word 'accidents' for 'bread' in his school of lies.

D. Iterum constat, quod si illud accidens foret corpus Christi, Christus pertinentissime tractasset ipsum in manibus, ipsum demo | strasset pronomine et in eius noticiam docuisset; cuius oppositum testantur nedum fideles ecclesie sed adversarii, qui dicunt concorditer quod nesciunt quid sit illud sacramentum quod sit accidens per se sine subiecto. Et revera, deus non potest subicere fidelem huic sacramento; ideo vere dicunt, quod non habet subiectum.

A 78ᵃ

But if it were so, Christ would have said so; which all must admit not to have been the case.

Item, tale accidens absconditum ab olym ignotum ecclesie, quod ponitur modo esse de fide, habet racionem per se substandi omni generi accidencium: et illa est per se racio substancie; igitur illa est illius generis, quod deus fecit substanciam. Si dicatur quod miracu-

If an accident can become a subject of other accidents, it becomes a substance. And if it be said to do so by miracle,

3, 4. accidens esse *deest* D. 7. oracionaliter BCD; corr. A. 8. post *deest* D. 15. universali B. 19. racionis B. 37. facit B.

Great, and many others; and had the unique honour of being placed in Hermolaüs Barbarus' translation of Aristotle (even in the early printed editions) immediately after *De praedicamentis*, which it supplements. He was, with Abailard, St. Bernard's adversary at the council of Reims (1148). 8. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. I, p. 18, l. 45.

then God continually works useless miracles.

And if such miracles are made on account of an accident, what will be done on account of real substances?

lose per se subiectat sic accidens | tunc oportet ponere B 86c cultores signorum facere continue miracula que non prosunt. Quid, inquam, prodest quod tale ignotum accidens sine subiecto per se recipiat transmutaciones culpabiles, ut tractacionem, alteracionem et passionem illicitam sacramenti? Revera evidencius quicquid agit vel patitur creata substancia continue subiectat miraculum, cum non sit racio quare fictum accidens ex naturali sua potencia facit miraculum, quin evidencius substancia creata et servata miraculose a deo continue facit miraculum; sed deficientibus veris miraculis, oportet quod fingantur falsa miracula; et sicut finguntur false officiorum nominaciones, religiones et absoluciones, sic fingitur falsa fides de accidentibus, ut utrobique seminator mendacii illudat ecclesie.

Three weak arguments in favour of this doctrine. I. The Decretal of Innocent III.

II. The Decretal, asserts transsubstantiation.

III. Respect for the Sacrament, which, if the bread remained, would be digested, &c.

But the same difficulty would follow in any case, Christ's Body being present.

The Body of Christ is uncontaminated, and impassible. Wizards think to harm men by hurting their wax images, and only hurt themselves; so it is with Christ's body.

Tres autem evidencias arundineas facit dyabolus ad E. con | cludendum quod illud sensibile sacramentum sit A 78b accidens sine subiecto; primo ex hoc, quod decretalis Innocencii 3ii dicit quod accidens est sine subiecto; ut de celebracione missarum, „*Cum Marthe,*" ubi multa recitantur de dicto Innocencio opinata. Secundo, quia primo decretalium, titulo primo, capitulo "*Firmiter*", in fine dicitur panem et vinum transsubstanciari in corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed quia patet inercia ex istis concludere quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, ideo palliantur alie rime doctorum, cum inquiunt, sacramentum altaris transit ad stomachum, si ibi remaneret materia, reciperet transmutaciones pudendas. Sed patet quod idem inconveniens sequeretur de pane quem ponunt accidens, cum precise tam diu remanet ibi | corpus Christi sacramentaliter, quam diu B 86d ibi remanet forma panis; et quantumcunque polluitur illud accidens, corpus Christi remanet inpollutum. Cum enim illud non sit ydemptice corpus Christi, absit fidelem credere, quod propter eius pollucionem corpus Christi polluatur; sic enim fingunt incantatores infideles, quod sciunt facere ymagines et cruciare in oculis vel aliis partibus inimicum quantumcunque distantem; sed per tales ficticias hereticas nocent sibi ipsis et non Christi fidelibus et multo magis non fedant vel cruciant

1. si *pro* sic C. 5. panacionem C. 25. sic *pro* sit C. 36. si D.

19. Decr. Greg., l. III, tit. XLI, c. 6. 22. Decr. Greg., l. I, tit. I, c. 1.

corpus Christi. Unde mures ipsum non lacerant, nec A 78c homines ipsum dentibus atterunt vel comburunt | . Licet enim multi indicent legem Christi esse hereticam, cum Ps. XCVIII, 1 "dominus regnavit irascantur populi", quia recipiunt equivoce nomen Christi; tamen hoc faciunt ad eorum F. deterioracionem, non ad dampnum Christi. Est autem difficultas scolastica, quam predicacionem in signo Christus recipit, cum videtur decretum *Ego Berengarius* dicere quod corpus Christi dentibus atteritur. Et sic clamant multi quod vident corpus Christi in missis oculo corporali, et sic de mille aliis conclusionibus in quibus populus est seductus. Ideo cum equivocatur in talibus, quod Christus sic tractatur in persona propria vel in signo, expedit negare ista sophistis et argucias quibus hec inferunt, detegendo quomodo membra vel signa Christi talia paciuntur; et sic glosande sunt scripture et dicta sanctorum. Sed secundo obicitur per doctores mendacii eo quod tunc non liceret homini bis B 87a celebrare | in die, quia comedendo panem et potando vinum in prima missa dissolveret ieiunium reddendo se ineptum ad iterum celebrandum; igitur oportet quod sacramentum sit accidens. Hic dicitur quod per illud sacramentum contigit solvere ieunium, cum secundum apostolum post illam cenam dominicam unus esurit, alius ebrius est: et secundum autorem "*De divinis officiis*" illud sacramentum est substancia panis, corpus panis et panis visibilis, qui de terra crevit; cum illo igitur contingit hominem solvere ieiunium, sicut cum G. fumo vescibilium. Sed notandum quod ieiunium a pec- A 78d cato | debet servari in cenantibus cenam dominicam, et corporale ieiunium non est curandum nisi de quanto disponit ad istud ieiunium. Unde nostri concedunt quod contingit ministrantem vel aliter laborantem comedendo et bibendo servare ieiunium ecclesie, sicut patet de bibentibus et comedentibus vocatas species tam ante prandium quam post: ymo Christus dedit corpus suum discipulis suis post cenam; sicud homines infirmi, quando egent plus digne corpus Christi assumere, communicantur post prandium. Ideo absit fidelem credere quod ordinacio qua decretum est homines celebrare ieiunios, faciat accidens esse sine subiecto. Nam eccle-

But a decree seems to say that Christ's body is ground with the teeth.

Only the sign is thus treated, not the thing signified.

They say: if the bread remains, the Priest cannot say Mass twice, since the fast is broken.

But the fast is really broken in any case, according to the Apostle's words.

The great point is to fast from sin.

Christ's disciples communicated, when not fasting; nor do the sick fast.

5. cum AB; tum C. 8. tum C; tamen D. 23. contingit B; *ib*. dissolvere B.

This is a commandment of the Church, which might be abolished.

Again, words of the Saints are quoted against us.

But if these Saints say that only the qualities remain, they contradict St. Thomas; quality, implying 'more or less', is the subject of quantity: which he rightly denies.

It would be stultifying their doctrine to say that all accidents are qualities.

When therefore they speak thus we understand them to mean the visible and material essence of the Sacrament.

sia potuit ordinasse racionabiliter quod celebrans parum ante comedat et multo magis quod post locionem cum aqua vel vino iterum celebret eodem die. Et patet nuditas istius evidencie ad probandum qûod non sit sacramentum altaris sensibile, nisi accidens. Tercio adducitur testimonium sanctorum sinistre conceptum, et allegatur | de Augustino, Anshelmo et aliis, quod solum B 87b qualitates remanent in sacramento post consecracionem. Nam tunc solum qualitates sunt sacramentum; et per consequens, cum ille qualitates possent maiorari et minorari, ille qualitates forent subiecta quantitati eis formaliter inherenti; quod est contra sanctum Thomam super 4° distinccione 12 questione prima articulorum. Sicut enim quantitas est dimensio que immediate consequitur materiam primam | existentem primum funda- A 79a mentum nature, sic alia accidencia non possunt ipsam in natura precedere. Nec valet dicere, quod omnia H. genera accidentis sunt qualitates, quia hoc foret imponere philosophis et sanctis doctoribus nimis magnam stulticiam. Nam substancialis qualitas, ex 5to Methaphisice et principiis gramaticorum, est qualitas quam necesse est per se esse; et sic nichil esset vel posset esse nisi qualitas. Sed videtur michi probabile sanctos doctores intelligere per visibiles species essencias materiales ut sunt sensibiles, sicut in predicacione secundum causam vel secundum subiectum sive materiam; fides autem scripture sic loquitur: "Christus est *propiciacio* pro I. Jo. II, 2 peccatis nostris", prima Joh. II°; et II^a^ Cor. V^to^ Christus II. Cor. V, 21 vocatur "*peccatum*". Et Ecclesiastici XLIV de iusto sacerdote dicitur, quod "in tempore iracundie factus est *reconciliacio*". Et isto modo videtur autorem supradictum loqui ubi supra. "In illo," inquit, "in quo fides non est, preter visibiles species panis et vini, nichil de sacrificio pervenit." Ideo solebam dicere quod si sacrificium altaris sit accidens, illud est solum illud fictum sacramentum quod recipit infidelis | . Certum est tamen B 87c quod iste maior intelligit per visibiles species panis et vini illam essenciam ut est sensibilis. Unde consequen-

14, 15. sequitur B. 24. intelligi CD. 28. patet B. 31. supradictum *deest* B. 35. illud *deest* B.

12. St. Th. Aq. *In Libris Sent.*, l. IV, Dist. 12, art. 1, questla 3a *Resp. ad primum*. 20. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. II, p. 526, l. 5; p. 521, l. 8, 36.

ter dicitur, quod vita animalis caro est. Et locucio secundum illam predicacionem est crebrior in scriptura, quia certum est quod ad interiora tam infidelis quam I. muris venit materialis essencia sacramenti. Unde, ut supra tetigi, potest intelligi per speciem et similitudi- A 79^{b} nem de quibus loquitur Gregorius, ipsa essencia | ut est sensibilis et mistice similis corpori Christi. Et sic intelligi potest dictum Anshelmi, quod false ascribitur Augustino, quod nichil de pane remanet post consecracionem, nisi sensibilis qualitas. Sunt enim verba venerabilis Anshelmi in quodam libello de sacramento altaris; et verisimile est quod allegaret magistrum suum Augustinum, si forent ex integro verba sua; sic enim facit in Monologion ubi capit nude sentenciam Augustini. Ideo vel mendaces vel scriptores propter similitudinem nominum Augustini et Anshelmi fecerunt, quod illa verba ascriberentur magno doctori Augustino. Non enim ita leviter moveret tantus doctor, quod solum qualitas remaneat post versionem uxoris Loth in statuam salis et silicis in vitrum. Quid enim pertinent ista ad inferendum quod accidens est sine subiecto? Unde swadent quod illa miraculosa conversio sacramenti sit deo possibilis, et infinitum magis mirabilis propter inmensitatem miraculi, quam dictum opus nature.

This mode of speech (taking the abstract for the concrete) is common in Scripture.

The words attributed to Augustine belong to a work of Anselm.

Besides, from his instances, Lot's wife changed into a pillar of salt, &c., Augustine could hardly say that quality alone remained.

K. Et quantum ad sensum doctoris Anshelmi videtur B 87^{d} michi ipsum intelligere quod solum qua | litates panis et vini remanent forte in actu consideracionis; non tamen wult negare, quin remanent in sacramento alia octo genera accidentis. Unde miror quod moderni socii tantum ponderant illud dictum, cum venerabilis Anshelmus dicit in libro suo De veritate, capitulo finali, quod A 79^{c} accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, | sicut dicit Augustinus; secundo, quia sanctus Thomas, cui illi innituntur, vere dicit quod impossibile est talem qualitatem naturalem esse, nisi fuerit fundata in quantitate, que est primum genus accidentis; et tercio quia ipsimet

And he can be understood in our sense.

He says himself that no accident can exist without a subject.

And St. Thomas asserts that quality must be based upon quantity.

4. nutris C; *ib.* et A. 9. beatus Gregorius CD. 9. remaneret B. 20. filicis AD. 24. miraculis *pro* mirabilis B. 27. consideracionis fidelium C 33. Augustino *omnes MSS; ib.* quod BC.

11. Ans. Ep. CVII. *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (Migne, t. 159, p. 256). 30. St. Anselm, has the following words in the last ch. *De Veritate:* Existente namque corpore, colorem eius necesse est esse; et pereunte corpore, colorem eius manere impossibile est (Migne, t. 158, p. 484). 33. St. Th. Aq. *In lib. Sent.* c. IV, Dist. XII, art. 1. *Et ideo dicendum est.*

And all agree that the Sacrament if not bread, is an aggregate of quality and quantity. How then can Anselm mean that quality *alone* remains? Those who quote this text should do so only to condemn it.

doctores dicunt michi, quod sacramentum altaris quod equivoce panis dicitur, est quedam agregacio accidencium quantitatis et qualitatis. Cum igitur dictum Anshelmi asserat quod solum qualitas remanet, directe obviat iste sentencie, et manifeste patet quod nichil eis inpertinencius quam allegare pro se hoc dictum. Nam allegacio non valet eis, nisi ut dictum id dampnetur, vel ut glossa eius infundabilis cumuletur; cum itaque secundum antiquos sanctos et modernos inpossibile est quod solum qualitates remaneant, patet quod deus ordinavit hoc dictum asscribi Augustino et Anshelmo ut sensus eorum predictus concorditer sit scrutatus, et multo magis ut verba fidei defendantur.

Again, they say that the word 'bread' is to be understood metaphorically, as the semblance of bread.

But, according to Scripture, Ambrose and Augustine, this is not possible.

Unde ob reverenciam scripture concedunt socii cum Ambrosio, Augustino et usu ecclesie, quod sacramentum altaris est panis sensibilis et corpus Christi, sed valde equivoce; quod dicitur panis eo quod similitudo panis, cum in natura sua sit accidens; et dicitur corpus Christi, quia figurat sacramentaliter corpus Christi. | Sed [B 88a] patet ex dictis, quod oportet intelligere scripturam [L.] I[a] Cor. X et XI de substancia panis, ut dicit Ambrosius [I. Cor. X, 16; XI, 24] et Augustinus in De sacramento altaris: "Corpus Christi et veritas et figura est. Veritas | dum corpus Christi [A 79a] et sanguis, virtute ipsius, in verbo ipsius, panis vinique substancia efficitur; figura vero est illud quod exterius sentitur. "Et iste videtur sensus cantus ecclesie:

Verbum caro, panem verum
Verbo carnem efficit etc.

The bread becomes something better; if so, it surely is not annihilated.

Quotation from Cyprian, contradicting annihilation.

Unde panis non anichilatur, sed melioratur, dicente Augustino eodem, ubi prius, in "De sacramento altaris": "Credendum est quod in verbis Christi sacramenta conficiantur: cuius enim potencia creantur prius, eius utique verbo ad melius recreantur." Si autem ad melius recreantur, non omnino destruuntur, dicente Cypriano in quadam epistola (et recitat eum Wymundus)

2. est *deest* D. 5. iste AB. 6. per *pro* pro. 17. quia AB.

22. Decr. Grat. 3[a] Pars Dist. II, c. 79. 35. Cypr. Epist., l. I, 6. Quoted by Guitmundus, *De Corporis et Sanguine Domini veritate* (Migne, t. 149, p. 1459). — Wymundus, also called Guitmundus, Witmundus, &c., archbishop of Aversa in Italy, is also known by the name of *Christianus*, which he afterwards took, as pointed out by Chifflet (Migne, t. 148, p. 1452, 3). His name occurs several times in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif's aim is to show his own orthodoxy by his agreement with one of the greatest adversaries of Berengarius.

"Denique", inquit, "unanimitate Christianos firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexos eciam ipsa dominica sacramenta declarant; nam quando dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multiplici granorum adunacione congestum propter nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum, et quando sanguinem suum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum gregem nostrum signat commixtione adunate multitudinis copulatum." Et idem dicunt sancti de millenario Christi concorditer.

M. Unde solebam ponere tres conclusiones in ista materia, quas catholicus debet usque ad mortem defendere: Prima, quecunque persona vel secta est nimis heretica, que pertinaciter defenderit quod sacramentum altaris per se existens in natura sua infinitum abieccior
A 80a B 88b equi pane ac in | perfeccior est; secunda, quicunque | pertinaciter defenderit quod dictum sacramentum sit accidens, quantitas, qualitas aut eorum agregacio, incidit in heresim supradictam; tercia, panis triticeus in quo solum licet conficere est in natura infinitum perfeccior pane fabino vel ratonis, quorum uterque in natura est perfeccior accidente. Patet conclusio ex hoc quod quicunque defenderit sic, defendit pertinaciter docma scripture sacre contrarium, quia tractatui apostoli 1a Cor. X et XI de corpore Christi vel cena dominica, ut patet per exposicionem Ambrosii, Augustini et aliorum sanctorum, qui fuerunt pape precipui. Nam verum panem cenaverunt Christi discipuli; et foret nimis absolutum a fide scripture quod Christus pavit suos discipulos pane infinitum peiori quam est panis ratonis vel panis alius venenosus. Hoc enim non excitaret, sed revocaret catholicos ex nimietate horroris accipere sacramentum; nec posset tale sacramentum perfici per accidens, cum non poterit alterari.

Three conclusions: 1st 'that the Sacrament is by nature an abject thing' is a heresy; 2nd 'that its nature consists in being an accident'; *ditto*; 3rd that wheaten bread is more perfect than any accident.

The first two propositons are unscriptural and therefore a heresy.

Sed quia Wymundus in tractatu suo de sacramento altaris contra Berengarium videtur esse autor capitalis
N. sic opinancium; ideo arguitur ex eius testimonio, quod inpossibile est sacramentum altaris quod est eukaristia, esse quacunque materiali substancia abieccius in natura. Scribit enim libro suo secundo, quod eukaristia sit sacramentum corporis domini intransitive loquendo,

Value of Guitmundus' testimony as the adversary of Berengarius.

He says that the Sacrament is the body of Christ and a sign of the grace of God.

16. est *deest* BCD. 22. patet conclusio patet CD. 23. sic defenderit sic CD. 31. racionis C.

id est, vere corpus domini et sacramentum aliarum rerum, scilicet bonitatis redempcionis et communionis corporis Christi mistici; ipsa tamen est corpus Christi proprium et corporis quod est ecclesia- sacramentum.

His words quoted: "Not a figure of Christ's body, but the reality".

"Sacri," inquit, "altaris | A 80ᵇ oblacio, cum substancia corporis Christi veraciter sit, alia misteria de ipso domino vel eius ecclesia absque | B 88ᶜ fidei periculo signare potest; sed non est signum vel figura corporis Christi proprii, cum sit substancialiter ipsum corpus." Unde libro 1°

Another passage. "Three particles of the Host, are not three bodies but one Body".

"The Sacrament is rightly called bread and wine, because after the change it still appears to be so."

ita inquit: "Tota hostia est corpus Christi, ut nichilominus unaqueque particula separata sit totum corpus Christi: nec tamen tres particule separate sunt tria corpora, sed unum corpus; nec ipse eciam particule a se tanquam plures differunt; quia quod corporis tocius una est, hoc et cetere sunt. Itaque iam non plures particule dicende sunt, sed una pocius hostia integra et indivisa, licet officio sacerdotis videatur quasi dividi. Similiter et si dentibus vel quo alio hec frangi videntur, intelligimus non hec frangi. Unde consequenter, libro 2°: "Quis," inquit, "illud negat, quis enim non ut pocius libenter fatetur, quod sacramenta mense dominice rite panis et vinum vocantur, vel quia prius panis et vinum fuerunt, vel quia panis et vini similitudinem substancialiter transmutata servant?"

He is therefore very far from granting that the Eucharist is a mere accident.

Ex hiis et aliis dictis suis patet, quod inter omnes scribentes plus alienum fuit a proposito huius episcopi concedere quod sacramentum altaris per se existens sit in natura accidens vel agregacio accidentis. Ipse enim dicit quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto.

This doctrine is supported neither by Scripture nor by the Fathers.

It is only in a peculiar sense that the Sacrament is Christ's Body. Augustine speaks of the

Item, non est fundabile in scriptura vel sanctis doctoribus de millenario Christi, sed pocius reprobatum, quod eukaristia sit accidens; igitur cum sit ita dissonum in materia | A 80ᶜ fidei, videtur quod pertinaciter illud defendere foret hereticum. Argumentum patet ex dictis, cum fides scripture, sancti doctores, leges, et usus ecclesie vocant regulariter ipsum panem, et, ad sensum alium indubie | B 88ᵈ equivocum, corpus Christi. Unde Augustinus, De fide

4. corpus B. 6. aliqua B. 17. officiosa ABD. 18. alio modo *pro* quo alio CD; aliquo *pro* quo B.

5. Guitmundus, ubi supra. Migne, t. 149, p. 1461; but the words following *potest* are wanting in the text. 9. Guitmundus, ubi supra. Migne, t. 149, p. 1454.

ad Petrum: "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites ipsum unigenitum verbum carnem factum, qui se pro nobis obtulit sacrificium et hostiam in odorem suavitatis, cui cum patre et spiritu sancto a patriarchis et prophetis et sacerdotibus tempore veteris testamenti animalia sacrificabantur, et cui nunc, id est, tempore novi testamenti, cum patre et spiritu sancto cum quibus est illi una divinitas, sacrificium panis et vini in fide et caritate sancta ecclesia catholica per universum orbem terre offerre non cessat." Item beatus Bernhardus in quodam sermone qui sic incipit: "Misereor," declarat quod panis accipitur septempliciter in scriptura: (Jo. VI, 52) "septimo," inquit, "accipitur pro eukaristia, ut Joh. VI°: *Panis,* inquit, *quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita.*" Et idem dicit Wimundus et doctores usque hodie concorditer; que igitur foret devocio sive religio, quod sacerdos sceleratissimus facit quotidie creaturam abiectissimam vel pocius unum nichil inperfeccius ligno vel (Jer. II, 10, 11) lapide deum suum? Revera hoc excedit infideles in veteri lege et sacerdotes Baal; ut patet Jeremie II° et (Dan. XIV, 4) Danielis ultimo. Isti enim posuerunt istas esse substan- (A 80d) cias et figurare | deum deorum, qui non deteriorat suam fabricam; nostri autem ponunt unam agregacionem accidencium, nesciunt quorum, esse panem sanctum et corpus Christi; et per consequens deum nostrum; abiecciorem autem panem in natura sua deus non posset facere, tum quia ille panis nullius nature est, nisi fuerit generalis nature accidentis; tum eciam quia (B 89a) non quilibet potest esse | panis, sed solum substancia vel accidens panis materialis. Et hic miror quod concedunt deum facere abiectissimum panem quem potest, et negant eum facere perfectissimum panem quem potest.

"sacrifice of bread and wine".

Bernard says that "the seventh meaning of 'bread' in Holy Writ is the Eucharist".

To adore such an accident is worse than idolatry; idolaters at least take a substance, v. g. wood, as their God.

P. Secta autem ista est ad tantum maniaca quod dicit errorem suum fulciri ab universali ecclesia ac si crederet se ipsam supponere totam ecclesiam; sic quod

This sect goes to the mad extreme of asserting that the universal Church favours their error.

4. et A. 5. et sacerdotibus *deest* B. 17, 18. abiectissimam *deest* D. 35. si *deest* CD.

1. *De Fide ad Petrum.* Migne, t. 40, p. 772. This work, proved by Erasmus to be spurious, is now believed to have been written by Fulgentius, on account of the discovery of a very old MS. at Corbie. 13. Bern. Serm. 1 pro Dom. VI post Pent. *in fine* (Migne, t. 183, p. 339).

The Spouse of Christ is indeed persecuted by Gog and Magog;

nulla sit militans ecclesia, quam non regit. Sed talis maniacus consideraret quomodo sancta mater ecclesia ab origine mundi usque ad diem novissimum est una persona, mulier fortis et sponsa Christi. Hec in medio etatis sue fuit copulata sponso suo Christo noviter incarnato. Post cuius millenarium per unum meditullium temporis, soluto patre mendacii, et tanta mania percussus est Gog et Magog, quod putat quicquid Gog non autorisaverit et Magog non invenerit, est contra deterioracionem ecclesie universalis; ut pro toto millenario Christi nesciunt invenire suum trimembre genus sacramenti altaris, sed directe contrarium.

who cry out that he who holds the ancient doctrine of the Saints is against the Church.

Et tamen clamant et blaterant quod tenens antiquam sanctorum sentenciam, | contradicit universali ecclesie; Magog putat (A 81a) enim quod ab ipso per se regente universalem ecclesiam pendeat totus mundus.

There have been three opinions concerning the Eucharist. 1st That of the first 1000 years.

Tres itaque variaciones notari possunt in materia de quidditate eukaristie; prima regnante veritate pro millenario Christi dicit quod ipsa hostia est substancia panis in natura, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi, ut dicunt sancti; et ista fides manet semper aput catholicos.

2nd That of Guitmundus.

Secunda fuit pro millenario solucionis sathane multiplex variacio in materia de quidditate hostie, ut tempore Beren | garii (B 89b) et Wymundi; ipse enim videtur dicere quod sacramentum sit in natura vel substancia solummodo corpus;

3rd That of our modern doctors who affirm it to be mere quantity, or sensible quality, existing by itself; or a mere bundle of accidents.

sed tercio magi pharaonis magis defecerant, ut hii (Q.) capiunt a doctore communi quod ipsum sit quantitas, cum ipsum per se existit et sit multipliciter sensibile, sed sola quantitas, ut inquiunt, subiectat sensibiles qualitates. Hii autem capiunt a doctore subtili cum secta sua quod sacramentum sit qualitas sensibilis per se existens. Et hii tercio pessime sompniant, quod ipsum sacramentum nichil est nec potest videri oculo corporali, cum sit agregacio accidencium, quorum multa non poterunt sic videri. Teneamus igitur fidem quam Ambrosius et Johannes Damascenus egregie declaraverunt;

Fallacies of Gog and Magog;

et caveamus de fallaciis Gog et Magog. Arguit enim: Si sacramentum altaris in natura sit inperfeccius

8. et *deest* CD. 9, 10. deterioracionem *omnes MSS.* 14. Quia Magog *omnes MSS.* 37. et *deest* C.

27. Unless *Doctor communis* stands here for *Doctor Universalis* (Alanus de Insulis) I think it must be the surname of some theologian in Wyclif's time. Migne's biographical Index of writers anterior to St. Thomas contains no such surname.

Lucifero et serpente, igitur per idem est imperfeccius vicio et veneno; sed mandat deus credi a cunctis fidelibus, quod optimum vinum sacramentale quod Christus unquam propinavit ecclesie sit in natura infinitum de- B 81c terius quam | venenum; et tercio concludit fideles debere credere Christum fecisse eque bene vel melius tam in natura quam moribus ad profectum ecclesie, servando naturalem substanciam sacramenti, nisi ecclesia in ipso determinasset oppositum. Sed procul a fidelibus hec venena! Augustinus enim ponit sacramentorum substancias in melius recreari.

v. g. that the best wine is worse than poison; or that Christ would have done better to have kept the natural substance of bread as it is, unless the Church had decreed otherwise.

1. perfectius AB. 11. creari etc. B.

CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

Can an accident exist without its subject? i. e. quantity, quality or relation.

Restat videre directe ulterius, si accidens possit manere sine subiecto; et, ne equivocetur in terminis, suppono quod per accidens intelligatur: quantitas, qualitas vel respectus. | Et cum dubium verificaretur B 89[c] potissime de duabus prioribus, arguo de illis, quod non possunt esse sine substancia quam informent. Primo sic: Differencia essencialis per quam accidens differt a substancia est formaliter inherere; sed nulla differencia essencialis potest tolli, igitur nec illa inherencia ad subiectum. Confirmatur per Wymundum, libro De eukaristia, de accidentibus sic dicentem: "Si," inquit, "aliquid essent, in subiecto essent; sed, contrariis supervenientibus, nec in suo possunt remanere subiecto, nec ad alia transmeare." Si igitur ille tam acceptus a cultoribus accidentis hoc asserit, stultum videtur inniti eius testimonio ad ponendum quod solum accidens per se existens sine subiecto sit eukaristia.

Negatived. 1[st] Proof. The essential difference between substance and accident is that the latter is necessarily inherent in the former. Guitmundus quoted in support of this. "If accidents were anything, they would exist in their subject".

Distinction: they can exist without a subject *supernaturally*, not *naturally*. Answer: Then to inhere would no longer be *essential*. A substantial form might become an accident.

Nec valet ficticia, qua dicitur accidens non posse naturaliter, sed supernaturaliter per se esse; primo, quia sic inherere foret accidentale accidenti et non quantitati aut qualitati per se differencia, sed solum | respecti- A 81[c] bus, qui equivoce dicuntur accidencia respectu priorum; secundo, quia sic posset deus facere formam substancialem materialem inherere, cum potest accionem

1. Capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 7. possent D. 22. qualis C.

9. The word *formaliter* has many different meanings in the Scholastic language. Here I take it to mean 'as a form, i. e. as a perfection, as an actuality (opposed to potentiality)' in the substance. And therefore *necessarily*. It is the important word in the argument. Defenders of absolute accidents would merely describe them as *having a natural tendency* to inhere: which might be counteracted by miracle. 12. Guitmundus, ubi supra, Migne, t. 149, p. 1443.

sui remanentis omnino suspendere; tercio, quia iuxta adversarios deus posset facere dictas res per se esse de communi cursu nature, et formas alias quas dicimus substanciales formaliter inherere; et per consequens posset mutare genera rerum faciendo quidlibet esse quidlibet, cum inherere vel per se esse sit accidentale B. cuicunque create essencie. Item, deus nichil agit superflue: sed superflueret ponere quantitatem et qualitatem que possent per se esse, cum illis positis oporteret ponere quantitatem et qualitatem sufficientes informare, omnino sicut ille facerent, que non potuerunt per se B 89^d esse; igitur deus non facit huiusmodi qualitates | et quantitates. Si igitur sunt, sunt a deo Manicheorum. Assumptum patet ex hoc quod deus non potest quicquam facere, nisi gracia finis debiti et manifesta racione; cum aliter foret insipiens. Et minor patet ex hoc quod, posita quantitate vel qualitate que fingitur accidentaliter informare, oportet preter ipsam ponere informacionem, qua subiectum sit formaliter quantum vel quale; et illa sufficit sine alia ficta, positis partibus substancialibus cum suis modis. Si enim A quantitas informat B subiectum et manebit in fine et non informans ipsum, oportet ponere informacionem distinctam, que sibi accidit: et notum est, si illius fieret alia informacio, foret processus in infinitum in talibus.

And every thing, everything else.

Why should God make a 'quantity' that can exist by itself, if one that cannot has to be posited in any case?

Such a scheme of things would come from the Evil God of Manichaeus.

If a quantity having to inform a subject does not inform it by itself, another form will be required to do so; and so on forever.

Ideo secundum Augustinum 5to De trinitate, capitulo A 81^d 13°, | sufficit ponere quantitatem que sit substanciam esse quantam, et qualitatem que sit substanciam esse qualem. Cum igitur hoc per se sufficit, hoc non potest esse sine subiecto, ut hodie blasfematur; nichil enim plus blasfemat in deum quam imponere sibi autorisacionem operis sine causa ad finem quem compendiose intendit. Nec dubium quin opportet ponere informacionem istorum accidencium distinctam; ut, posito per eis possibile, quod deus infinicies suspendit tam qualitatis quam quantitatis A subiecti informacionem, manente utraque essencia in eodem loco: manifestum est, quod A per vices sic intensum et remissum minorabitur, alias mutabitur aquirendo et deperdendo per vices

Quantity defined: *"the being so great* of a substance"; Quality likewise.

If they were separate entities, the subject might be with and then without them.

1. quod B. 3. quas *deest* B. 5. mutuare *omnes MSS.* 9, 10. que — qualitatem *deest* BCD. 22. et *deest* BC. 33. incedit B. 34. posito *deest* D. 36. a sub informacionem BC; *corr.* A; aut sub D.

27. What comes nearest to the sense here indicated is, I believe, De Trin. l. VII, c. 1 (Migne, t. 42, p. 935).

Then they would be superfluous.

qualitatem et quantitatem. Cum igitur subiectum sufficit cum illis in omnem utilitatem in quam sufficit cum accidentibus illis absconditis, manifestum est, quod ille superfluerent. Nec dicetur aliquid | accidens distin- B 90a gwi a subiecto, nisi ponatur illa esse accidencia, per quorum aquisicionem et deperdicionem subiectum tam varie moveretur. Item proporcionabiliter ut aliquid est C. in natura propinquius substancie, potest ipsum per se stare; sed forma substancialis materialis et materia prima est propinquior in natura substancie quam genus aliquod accidentis; igitur ipsa possunt evidencius per se stare. Maior patet ex hoc, quod illa est racio substancie in quantum talis. Et confirmatur ex testimonio adversariorum, qui propterea ponunt solum quantitatem posse per se esse, quia est primum genus accidentis, consequens materiam que est prior forma; vel | secun- A 82a dum alios solum quantitas et qualitas ponuntur per se esse, quia qualitas de propinquo consequitur formam substancialem. Et minor argumenti patet ex hoc, quod utrumque istorum elementorum est modo suo substancia, et idem quodammodo substancie composite; hoc autem non potest competere accidenti. Unde in confirmacionem istius papa Innocencius 3us, qui creditur esse autor istius opinionis, dicit in tractatu suo de eukaristia, quod panitas et vinitas remanent in sacramento post consecracionem; sed secte, tanquam ingrati filii, dicunt cum Aristotele, quod hoc non potest esse. Sed de accidentibus (quod est evidencius et Aristoteles dicit expressius) nolunt revocare errorem, quin ipsa oporteat per se esse. Nec dubium quin panitas et vinitas sunt forme substanciales, que cum remanent patet ex opinione Innocencii III^{ii}, quod remanent sacramentum. Si enim materia prima remaneat per tempus informis, cum non sit quid nisi per formam, sequitur quod per | illud tempus pure remanet nichil. Et ista B 90b est sentencia illius fidelis philosophi Ursonis, qui capitulo 3° libri sui "De mixtionibus elementorum" dicit, quod materia est medium inter substanciam et accidens, nec accidens, ut inquit, poterit per se esse. De forma

It cannot be said that an accident is distinct from its subject, unless a substantial form be also capable of existing without subject; it being more perfect than any accident.

Quantity follows matter; quality depends on the substantial form; matter and form are in some sort substance: which accidents cannot be.

Pope Innocent says that the bread-ness and wine-ness remain after consecration. This the adversaries deny.

But bread-ness and wine-ness are the substantial forms of bread and wine.

Even the materia prima *cannot exist by itself. Nor can the substantial forms either.*

33. maneat CD. 34. sed *pro* sequitur BC.

36. Urso, a scholastic and natural philosopher of the XIIth century, quoted by Wyclif in *De Compositione Hominis*, *De Ente Predicamentali* and elsewhere. His Aphorisms and other writings are in the Bodleian library.

autem substanciali patet, quod si ipsa est, tunc ipsa informat substanciam; ut, si igneitas est, tunc secundum ipsam aliquid est formaliter ignis; ymo, ut adversarii vere concedunt, si quantitas est secundum ipsam, aliquid est formaliter quantum. Si igitur panitas et vinitas sunt, est dare aliqua que secundum ipsas sunt formaliter panis et vinum; et sic, si forma substancialis materialis (A 82b) non poterit per se esse, longe evidencius forma | accidentalis materialis non poterit per se esse.

How then can accidental forms, less perfect, exist by themselves?

(D.) Item, si forma substancialis vel accidentalis per se esset, ipsa de se foret formatum non per accidens sed se ipsa; ut, si essenciam esse quantam, que indubie est forma, foret per se ipsa, foret illa quantitas; et sic de aliis formis tam substancialibus quam accidentalibus. Et ideo declarat Lincolniensi quod "deus est prima forma." Cum igitur quelibet forma, in quantum accidentalis, habet in se quandam potenciam cui accidit informari, videtur quod quelibet forma, in quantum accidentalis, includit in se suum subiectum. Ideo dicit Lincolniensis super 2° posteriorum 2° capitulo: "Causa," inquit, "eadem rei est eius causa formalis; quia forma totum verum esse rei in se habet, et si sit forma que non egeat materia, ipsa est vere res ipsa; et forma que eget materia, si posset subsistere absque materia, esset verius res ipsa quam res materiata; sicut (B 90c) si figura statue posset esse | sine materia, esset ipsa figura verius res ipsa quam res materiata." Si igitur quantitas et qualitas sacramenti remanent sine subiecto, ipse informant se ipsas ut deus; cum certum est quod sicut est unum quantum continuum, ita est unum figuratum album et sapidum, quia sensus aliter nimis illuderentur circa illa sensibilia. Nec est racio quare quantitas per se existens quanta, quin per idem albedo si per se afficit, foret alba. Nec dubium quin oportet ponere unam potenciam sive essenciam que substernatur varietatibus istorum accidencium; quia aliter, ut ait Augustinus 5to De trinitate, capitulo 3°, forent deus. (A 82c) Nam | distinccio est inter *corpus esse album* et *hoc corpus esse sic album*. Ideo, cum ista albedo sit natura

No form can possibly be accidental, if it exists by itself:

Thus God is the 'primordial form'.

The formal cause includes the whole *esse* of anything: and if it could subsist without matter, it would be the perfect and ideal thing.

Thus quality and quantity in the Sacrament would be self-sufficient, like God.

An abstract quality must exist in a subject that is other than itself; indefinite in itself, it is either limited by a subject, or infinite, as God.

2. informatur substancia BCD. 5. Sic igitur AB; sic igitur si C; si igitur si D. 13. ipso BCD. 18. informare D.

21. *Rei* is in the dative here. "A cause identical with the thing itself . . . ." 37. Chapter IV. of the same book (Migne, t. 42, p. 913) seems to come nearest to Wyclif's meaning.

posterior hoc corpore, ista albedo non potest esse sine hoc corpore, sed econtra; genus autem vel species albedinis potest esse sine hoc corpore, sed de ultimo individuo accidentis.

Names should be given to things according to their properties; so the Sacrament, having all the properties of bread, is properly named so.

It has even essential properties, such as action and passion.

Item, ex proprietatibus debet res sortiri nomen reale, E. non ab institucione humana; sed dictum sacramentum habet plene proprietates substancie panis; igitur deus vere nominat ipsum nomine panis: et sic quadruplex ewangelium et apostolus regulariter vocant ipsum panem. Si enim accidentalis similitudo pensatur, patet quod nichil potest esse pani similius quam hoc sacramentum est simile substancie panis; et si intelligitur proprietas essencialis, non potest convinci in alio pane substancialis proprietas quin hoc sacramentum habet consimilem, ut patet de per se accione et passione; in tantum quod Henricus Gawnt videtur asserere | B 90^d quod, generato verme de hostia, illa accidencia per se subiectant animam sensitivam.

Innocent says that when the Host is altered (chemically) the same individual *materia prima* returns: it must therefore have existed all the time.

Et Innocencius 3us, in tractatu suo de eukaristia, dicit quod, deformata hostia, redit eadem materia prima in numero: quod non foret fingendum, nisi illa materia foret presto continue et per consequens idem panis; Deus enim non destruit substanciam, nisi prius natura vel tempore accidens eius destruxerit; aliter enim non foret causa destruccionis talis substancie, ut repugnat bonitati divine punire hominem, nisi peccatum primum sit in causa. Ad quid igitur destrueret panis substanciam? | A 82^d

When the substance is changed, the name changes too.

If an accident could acquire the properties of substance, it should be called so; an unnecessary miracle, since the permanence of the substance would suffice.

Confirmatur ex hoc quod, mutata essencia in aliud, mutatur et nomen substancie: ut homo secundum corpus transformatus vere dicitur esse terra, aut secundum animam, dicitur esse dyabolus: et iuxta sanctos factus est aliud: sic igitur, si illud quod prius fuit accidens panis habet miraculose proprietates substancie, debet vere dici et esse substancia. Quamvis autem hoc esset maius miraculum, foret tamen superfluum, cum prior panis sufficeret; et consonat quod ille sit in melius, quia in corpus domini recreatus. Sicut igitur ille panis sacramentalis habet proprietates prime substancie, sic

28. et ACD.

18. Innocent III wrote *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio.* I have not been able to identify the quotation, which, if exact, would contradict the whole scheme of Catholic belief. For *if* the *materia prima* returns, as said here, it must have been present somewhere all the time; and instead of transsubstantiation, there is only transformation.

et nomen. Sed sicut dyabolus docet bonum dici malum et econtra, sic transfert veritatem et nomina signorum in quibus seducit populum. Sic enim apostasia vocatur religio, elemosina dicitur serenitas, et globus istorum cumulatus symoniace vocatur mendaciter patrimonium crucifixi. Sic, inquam, oportet quod in isto venerabili sacramento, [B 91a] quo Magog tantum abutitur, sunt mendacia cumulata. |

[F.] Item si talis quantitas et qualitas per se producerentur et post per se corrumperentur, tunc crearentur et adnichilarentur; sed non sic se habent, quando producuntur et corrumpuntur in substancia; igitur regulariter agens creatum posset creare et adnichilare; argumentum est falsigraphis satis possibile; et contraria videtur ex hoc quod tam qualitas quam quantitas creditur una res que potest per se existere, ut anima, et [A 83a] evidencius quam materia prima. Si igitur | materia prima non poterit sic produci nisi creacione, evidencius talis forma. Unde falsigraphi dicunt quod materia prima non potest esse informis; quia, cum non potest esse aliquid nisi per formam, si per tempus foret informis, per idem tempus foret non aliquid. Et minor argumenti videtur de anima et aliis tribus que secundum se totas producuntur de potencia subiecti; nisi que sunt quodammodo subiectum per transmutacionem eius accidentalem; sic quod non dicant essenciam, que poterit per se esse; ut est de respectibus, et, secundum Aristotelem, de quibuscunque formis materialibus. Et in ista difficultate laboravit Wymundus; et secte adverse confirmant illud per hoc quod deus prius producit hoc accidens quam producitur ab agente creato. Ymmo, prius quam recipitur in subiecto, ut patet de prioritate communi, et pro illa priori oportet quod creetur: igitur quelibet talis forma in produccione creatur, et per idem in corrupcione adnichilatur; et ita dicerent philosophi, si sic sentirent de per se permanencia accidentis et quomodo independeat a subiecto. Sic enim conceperunt philosophi formas materiales educi de potencia materie.

If quantity etc. became by themselves *and then no longer so, there would be annihilation.*

They are supposed to exist per se: *which* materia prima *canot do. Now the latter requires creation, and the former too. Therefore they say* materia prima *can never be without form; for if it were, it would be nothing. They escape by saying that God, not the priest, elicits the creative act.*

[A 91b] Item, maior est dependencia accidentis | ad substanciam quam econtra; sed nulla substancia potest esse sine accidente; igitur evidencius nullum accidens potest

There is a greater dependency of accident on substance than vice versa;

6. quod *deest* BCD. 10. non minus CD. 21. non *deest* CD. 25. qua B. 32. illa *corr.* A. 36. independeant AB. 37. conceperunt C.

but no substance can be without accident; therefore no accident without substance.

esse sine substancia que subiectat. Maior est nota fidelibus, cum substancia sublunaris dependeat per accidens ab influencia celesti et lumine in communi; accidens autem sic dependet a subiecto | in quo est, quod sine [A 83b] illo non potest esse propter necessarium ordinem causandi; et minor patet ex hoc quod posita substancia ponitur eius relacio ad deum, que evidencius distingwitur ab extremis quam relacio personarum divinarum ad intra, quam tamen sancti ponunt distingwi. Similiter [G.] si substancia creata per se sit sine accidente cum posset esse accidentata, privacio accidentis accidenter sibi inest. Similiter si substancia materialis est, tunc est quanta, figurata et alicubi, et per consequens accidentatur. Si autem substancia immaterialis est, tunc inest sibi unitas que est principium quantitatis discrete, et multiplicacio per situm accidentaliter sibi inest. Unde Augustinus, epistola 40 *ad Dardanum:* "Spacia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt, nec erunt: tolle ipsa corpora a qualitatibus, nec erit ubi sunt; et ideo necesse est ut non sint. Et si moles ipsa corporis, quantacumque sit, auferatur, penitus auferantur qualitates eius, nec erit ubi sint, quamvis non mole meciende sint." Ex istis patet quod genus quantitatis et qualitatis non possunt a materiali substancia separari: et evidencius non potuerunt per se esse. Unde sinistra videtur michi glosa ponens Augustinum intelligere, quod necesse est naturaliter ita esse, quamvis supernaturaliter ut in sacramento altaris possit oppositum evenire. Nam in eadem epistola tractat de sacramento altaris, et | videtur, [B 91c] quod tam subtilis logicus non foret tante immemor fidei sacramenti.

If any creature was without accidents, this would be accidental itself. Matter is in space and time, and therefore has accidents. And immaterial beings have unity, the source of quantity.

Substance cannot exist without some quantity and quality; so neither can the latter without substance. And the gloss is wrong to distinguish between natural and supernatural possibility.

God does nothing uselessly; now, if so, quantity and quality cannot exist alone.

Item, supponendum est tanquam per se notum fideli philosopho, quod natura prima agit compendiosius quo ad finem totalem quo potest; sed, eo ipso, nulla quantitas vel qualitas poterit per se esse: igitur hoc est necessarium. Maior patet ex hoc quod deus, dispendiose agens sine innovacione finis vel comodi, ageret de tanto superflue: et per hoc principium probant philosophi quod oportet mundum esse sphericum, cum inter

1. maior et D. 10. sicut CD; *ib.* possit CD. 18—20. corpora — ipsa *deest* BCD. 21. auferatur *deest omnes MSS.* 22. mentiende C. 29. est *deest* BCD. 38. superfluo BC.

17. Aug. Ep. ad Dard., c. VI (Migne, t. 33, p. 838).

omnes figuras ysopometras illa sit capacissima. Per hoc eciam probant philosophi, quod oportet angulum incidencie esse equalem angulo refleccionis, quia aliter natura non ageret ita compendiose et breviter sicut potest; et sic de multis conclusionibus abditis in natura. Et minor argumenti ex hoc evidet, quod posita quantitate vel qualitate substancie materialis per se vel cum subiecto suo vel extra, suspensa informacione subiecti fixi et quieti, foret substancia materialis quanta et qualis per quantificacionem et qualificacionem, que non poterint per se esse; ideo produccio illius accidentis H. per se foret omnino superflua. Et confirmatur ex hoc quod materialis essencia non est nisi gracia essencie spiritualis. Sed eque potest vocatum accidens per se hec omnia facere, sicut materialis essencia. Igitur superfluit talem ponere. Accidens enim, quod est sacramentum, ut inquiunt, potest per se quomodocunque moveri: ideo precluditur philosophis omnis via ponendi materialem substanciam. Et quantum ad autores scripture, glozari possunt pari auctoritate, quod loquuntur de B 91[d] globo accidencium, sicut scriptura, ut fingunt, | vocant accidencia, que non sunt materialis substancia, panis A 83[d] et vinum. Et talis consideracio | movebat Augustinum tanquam per se notum concedere quod omnia accidencia sunt res que non potuerunt per se esse. Scribit enim 2° Soliloquiorum capitulo 13, "esse aliquid in aliquo non nos fugit dici duobus modis, uno localiter, ut corpus seiungi atque alibi esse possit, ut hoc lignum, in hoc loco et sol in oriente. Altero autem modo ita est aliquid in subiecto ut ab eo nequeat separari; ut in hoc ligno forma et species quam videmus; ut in sole lux, et in igne calor, et in animo disciplina. Et si qua sunt alia, ista," inquit, "vetustissima nobis sunt, et ab ineunte adolescencia studiosissima percepta et cognita; quia non possum, interrogatus de hiis, quin ea sine ulla deliberacione concedam, et sequitur illud vero quod interrogasti." Quis concesserit, aut cui posse fieri videatur ut illud quod est in subiecto, maneat ipso intereunte subiecto? Monstruosum quidem et a

It is useless to attribute to a substance quantity and quality that can exist alone, when the other sort, that cannot, acts just as well.

If these accidents do all that the substance does, why not suppose a substance?

Augustine lays down as self-evident that accidents cannot exist by themselves; that things are 'in another', either locally or as in a subject on which they depend; except intuitive truths.

Is this the case with absolute accidents?

17. quocunque BCD; *ib.* movere B. 20. loquitur C. 26. aliud D. 30. negant C; nequit *corr.* D. 34. studiosissime CD. 37. aut *deest* B.

23. Aug. Sol. l. II, c. 12 (Migne, t. 32, p. 895).

veritate alienissimum, ut illud quod non esset, nisi in ipso esset, eciam cum ipsum non fuerit, possit esse.

Every separable form has a tendency of its own, the want of which argues that qualities are not separable: e. g. the human soul. Also, every possible substance.

Item quelibet forma accidencia separabilis, habet appetitum proprium et nata est habere accionem propriam naturalem; sed hoc repugnat quibuslibet qualitatibus convenire; igitur et separabilitas non potest eis competere. Maior patet de anima humana et de qualibet re per se possibili, sicut habet proprium esse, sic habet appetitum proprium ad suum esse, ut patet de tribus rebus quas Augustinus ponit uniri ad modum | trinitatis in qualibet tali essencia. | Habet enim potenciam conservandi et appetendi se ipsam; et secundo, quantum potest se appetere, tantum appetit se naturaliter; et tercio, tantum quietatur naturaliter in se ipsa. Sicut igitur quelibet talis forma activa per se posita resisteret suo contrario propter appetitum quem haberet ad esse proprium, ita inseparabiliter habet huius modi appetitum; et patet quod impossibile est ipsam agere nisi agat propriam accionem, cum accio individuatur ab agente. Minor autem argumenti patet multipliciter, primo, quia alia accione agit subiectum et alia sua qualitas; secundo, quia qualitas, cum nata sit per se manere se ipsam, ipsa posset per se exire subiectum localiter et per consequens requiritur ligamentum distinctum ab ipso et subiecto, quo ipsa ad invicem colligentur; sic enim ponuntur unio et continuacio distincta ab extremis. Tercio, quia qualitates non possent communicare acciones suas subiectis, sicut non possunt communicare agencias suas alienis qualitatibus, vel materie prime; et utrobique est tanta racio vel maior, racione coaccionis vel causacionis; quomodo igitur forent subiecta alterativa? Quarto, videtur quod omnis generacio qualitatis sit inpertinens alteracioni substancie; quia, supposito quod qualitas non informet substanciam, quod non potest esse isti vie, nisi per revelacionem notum vel cognitum, tunc non alteratur subiectum per induccionem qualitatis: et periret omnis motus noticia, omnis experiencia et per consequens omnis demonstracio vel consideracio philosophica. Quinto, videtur quod qualitates morales, ut summa | liberalitas, semper inclinant ad eque dandum, quomodocunque subiectum fuerit

I. A 84[a] B 92[a] A 84[b]

Every substance has a tendency to self-conservation, a love of self, and repose in itself; and therefore must have a proper resistence to what harms it.

But a quality acts in a quite different way, nor can it properly be said to act at all.

If a quality had a proper action of its own, it would act without changing its substance, and we should never know anything experimentally.

As for moral qualities, if such could act by themselves, better not to have them.

21. illa *corr.* A; BCD.

10. Aug. De Trin., l. IX, c. 12 (Migne, t. 42, p. 970, 971).

B 92b passionatum; conclusio, si foret virtus vel | vicium bonum, bonum esset carere, cum eius regimen per racionem requireret magnam solicitudinem. Sexto videtur, cum res est eo perfeccior in natura quo est perfeccius accidentata, quod caliditas sit perfeccior in natura quam ignis, si aliquis sit talis, quia illa est per se calefactiva; et quomodocunque ignis foret activus per unam rem sibi illinitam, eius accio per accidens ex nuda concomitancia mutuatur. Septimo, videtur quod omne corpus elementare foret mixtum racione naturarum per se possibilium commixtarum; nam unumquodque eorum habet propriam raritatem et densitatem ac per se existenciam, sicut haberet ipso de possibili extracto cum eisdem passionibus.

Heat, would be hotter than fire: heat heats by itself, while fire borrows its action from heat.

All elements would be compounds; v. g. rarity; density &c., proper to themselves, would be distinct from their subjects.

K. Nec valet quod philosophi aliter locuti sunt de mixtione, de varitate, et densitate qualitatum; quia aliter indubie locuti sunt de quidditate earum; ymmo, si sic grosse conceperint de illis accidentibus, posuissent alia sequencia consequenter: ut duo sacramenta calicis, que ponuntur accidencia, poterunt comisceri ad invicem et varie transmutari; sed hoc est alienum a qualitate; qualitas enim non est nisi substanciam esse qualem. Et per hoc tolluntur omnes instancie predicte; nec dubium fideli, quin propter innovacionem modi qui non potest per se esse, stat opposita vicissim verificari et A 84c subiecta varie trans | mutari, cum sola substancia poterit per se esse. Et ista videtur sentencia Augustini in *De quantitate anime*, capitulo 4°. "Prorsus," inquit, "non dubito corpora omnia longitudine, latitudine, et altitudine carere non posse, sed numquid potest cogitari B 92c ista tria esse nisi in corporalibus?" | "Non intelligo," inquit, "quomodo esse alibi possunt." In retractando itaque illum librum et servando istam sentenciam confirmavit.

That philosophers have spoken otherwise of the mixture of qualities is no matter. Wine may be mixed in two chalices, but this has nothing to do with quality.

Item qualitates, ut virtutes et gracie, sunt multis substanciis meliores: quod non posset esse nisi ipse includant formaliter virtuosam substanciam, et dicant eius modum laudabilem. Igitur ille qualitates non possunt esse sine subiecto et per idem nullum aliud accidens. Assumptum videtur, eo quod ille qualitates sunt eligi-

Some qualities are of a higher order than some substances; this could not be, unless their idea included the substance to which they belonged. So quality should not be set apart from substance.

1. que *pro* conclusio A. 3. solitudinem B. 5. accidencia *omnes MSS.* 20. potuerunt CD. 22. aliud nisi B.

27. Aug. De Quant An., c. IV (Migne, t. 32, p. 1038).

Charity is better than the whole world; but a houseful of virtues, set apart from their subjects, would be worth nothing at all.

biliores datis substanciis: ut patet de diviciis; ymo videtur quod nemo excideret a caritate pro toto mundo salvando, quod de natura eligibilis virtus illa sit homini optacior et sic melior toto mundo; quod non potest salvari, si fuerit res per se possibilis. Nam domus plena talibus qualitatibus per se positis, non valet obolum, et cum inpossibile sit esse secundum et accidentale rei excedere esse suum primum et essenciale, a quo dependet illud esse secundum, manifestum est quod tales virtutes non habent esse primum separabile a subiecto.

The same argument also applies to vices.

Vice is infinitely evil, since its accidental presence as a form is so great an evil: not even the devil is worse than his sin.

Et idem est argumentum de viciis quorum informacionem nemo reciperet pro deo vel quoquam possibili. Nam, ut sic, homo peccaret et per consequens faceret aliter quam deberet. Ex quo | logici inferunt quod vi- (A 84^d^) cium sit infinitum malum, cum eius informacio sibi (L.) accidentalis sit tam mala; dyabolus enim non est peior peccato suo, licet alio modo fuerit malus, quia tunc foret homo abieccior virtute sua; et loquor abstractive de virtutibus ut sunt qualitates, non ut sunt deus. Virtus enim foret confirmata, ut angelus.

It is false that virtues and vices cannot exist by themselves, while material qualities can; for if so, the latter would be more perfect than the former.

Nec est color fingere, quod alique qualitates, | sed (B 92^d^) non virtutes aut vicia, poterunt per se esse; quia ille ex condicione dignitatis possent potissime per se esse. Ymo, qualitates materiales forent perfecciores substancia, cum omnem alteracionem et actum substancie possent per se facere, substancie autem non nisi ex accomodacione earum; ut caliditas per se ignire posset quotlibet combustibilia. Deus igitur dando sibi talem virtutem daret sibi proporcionabilem perfeccionem; nec est racio quare deus potest colligere quantitates et alia accidencia corporalia, sic quod sint secundum se tota ad omnem punctum hostie, quin per idem posset extendere virtutes et vicia, cum par sit utrobique distancia. In tales blasfemias evanuerunt cultores signorum, ponentes quod mors per se moveatur per patrias, et ex adverso veniant omnia genera morborum que mortem crucient et occidant, et videntur sonare ad hoc dicta prophete: *O mors ero mors tua;* sed error consistit in deteccione predicacionis formalis et predicacionis secundum subiectum, quomodo Augustinus super illo

Where the error lies: in an abstract predication of the form,

11. est *deest* B. 26. non *deest omnes MSS.* 28. combustialia B. 34, 35. possibilitates B; *corr.* A. 35. moneatur D; *ib.* primas B. 37. dicta *deest* B.

40. Aug. Enarr. in Ps. LXVIII (Migne, t. 36, p. 814).

A 85a psalmo LXVIII. "Non est substancia | ," dicit quod omnis creatura est substancia. Et sic indubie accidencia que mendaces ponunt esse sine subiecto sunt de facto panis et vinum. Sed consideracio illarum naturarum est sopita propter excellenciorem substanciam; sicut sensacio carbonis extinguitur propter ignis dominium, ut docet Damascenus. Accidencia autem sicut non habent aliud esse quam inesse, sic non habent aliam perfeccionem quam informare. Sed secundum racionem qua accidencia, ut quantitates aut accidencia huiusmodi speciei, B 93a sunt sic | perfecta; ut quantitas dimensionalis, quia consequitur materiam primam, est minime perfecta; ideo maxime elongatur ab esse sacramenti et post illa qualitates alie corporales.

confounded with the concrete predication of the subject. Augustine says, every thing created is substance, then so are these accidents. The perfection of accidents is the 'being-in-a-subject'. Quantity, following the *materia prima*, is the lowest is of all.

M. Item, ut tactum est, posito accidente sine subiecto, quod sit sacramentum altaris, oportet ponere vacuum; consequens impossibile: igitur antecedens. Si enim situs sacramenti sit vacuus, tunc per idem extra mundum foret vacuum infinitum; quia aliter, ut inquiunt, deus non posset movere mundum versus oriens quantumcunque velociter, nec posset creare mundum alium extra istum, nec extendere aliquod corpus positum in mundi confinio extra ipsum: que omnia, ut inquiunt, derogant divine potencie. Sicut igitur deus potest, servatis parietibus domus, anichilare totum aerem interceptum, non subinducto novo corpore, sic potest de situ hostie: et sic facit, cum corpus Christi non supplet plenum, nec accidens per se excludit vacuum; quia, ut tactum est, oportet (si vacuum est) quod in ipso sint qualitates et quantitates.

Who posits absolute accidents asserts a vacuum; this is absurd: so is that. If the place where the Sacrament is be void of all substance, then there must also be an infinite void.

Neither Christ's body nor the accidents fill it.

Quod autem hoc sit inpossibile, videtur multis A 85b do | ctoribus: quia tunc foret vacuum infinitum, deo coeternum, nec creator nec creatura, sed omnino superfluum, cum ablato de illo infinicies infinito, residuum sufficeret ad omne eius officium. Nec subiacet divine potencie replere illud corpore, ipsum destruere vel movere; sed foret de illo mundus coeternus deo infinitum sensibili mundo perfeccior, quia prior in natura, cuius destruccio tolleret deum nostrum. Igitur infinitum B 93b bonum foret illud cuius infinitum mala foret pri | vacio. Si igitur pedale illius foret aliquantum bonum, totum foret infinitum bonum, cum deus non posset sine ipso

Now this is impossible. I. It would be infinite, but neither uncreated nor created. II. God could neither fill, move, nor destroy it. III. As necessary as God, it would be infinitely good.

5. sed C. 22. aliud B. 27. ut BC; *corr.* AD. 34. de illis CD.

IV. Two Gods; contrary to faith; limiting God's power.

quicquam facere; ipsum igitur foret deus malus. Multa sunt talia, ex quibus videtur domino Ardmachano quod repugnat fidei ecclesie esse vacuum, ut patet in tractatu suo *de pauperie salvatoris.* Non enim consonat divine potencie quod ipse non possit creare mundum sine hoc vacuo sibi coeterno, vel quod non posset destruere hoc accidens sine aliquo in ipso vacuo noviter introducto, sicut fingitur prius destruxisse substanciam; vel quod non posset movere vacuum istud localiter, quo posito posset movere aliud vacuum coextensum post ipsum; et sic infinitum.

A void should be admitted only for some good reason; but there is none.

It amounts to the annihilation of the world; if God can annihilate bread, He can annihilate the world.

Item, si gemme vacuorum foraminum ponuntur in N. ecclesia racione hostie consecrate, aliqua est racio earum aput deum et aliqua utilitas ecclesie; sed neutrum istorum est fingendum: | igitur nec antecedens hoc in- A 85[c] ferens. Quo ad deum, videtur quod implicat in eo inprovidenciam, quod creet mundum plenum materiali essencia, et det sibi incorruptibilitatem, et tunc anichilet sine causa; anichilet, dico, quia post consecracionem nusquam est secundum aliquam sui partem; nam non fit pars corporis Christi, ut inquiunt, nec est in situ hostie, nec alibi; nec pocius convertitur in corpus Christi quam unum penitus anichilatum preter sua accidencia converteretur in substanciam succedentem.

They themselves admit that the body of Christ comes only when the bread is annihilated.

Nothing remains of the bread, not even the *materia prima*.

Et confirmatur ex principiis adversariorum, qui ponunt deum posse anichilare vel destruere corpus panis, cum hoc quod sub illis accidentibus succedat corpus Christi sacramentaliter; | et per consequens prius naturaliter B 93[c] est ipsa anichilacio panis sive destruccio, antequam sit illa ficta conversio. Si enim panis erit corpus Christi, ut dicit beatus Ambrosius, vel si remanet eadem communis materialis essencia, ut fuit de conversione uxoris Loth in statuam, ut patet de exemplis per que probat Ambrosius possibilitatem conversionis panis in corpus Christi, tunc non destrueretur alia materialis essencia; sed Gog tollit omnem efficaciam et pertinenciam argumentorum beati Ambrosii, et statuit sibi unam transsubstanciacionem quam eciam Magog fatetur se non posse intelligere; quomodo igitur informaret simplices in hac fide? Et quo ad utilitatem ecclesie, certum videtur quod hec foramina vacua nichil prosunt, cum foret deo conveniencius et ecclesie | utilius accipere A 85[d]

There comes an unexampled and incomprehensible change. If God can make bread to be His Body, without destroying it, the vacuum is a useless fiction.

10. movere *deest* B. 13. alia BCD; *corr.* A. 15. ut B; *corr.* A. 32. fuit *deest* B.

pabulum spirituale de situ repleto substancia; sed videtur istam ficticiam figurare boum carenciam, quia Prov. XIV, 4 Prov. XIV dicitur: "Ubi non sunt boves, presepe vacuum est." I. Cor. IX, 9 Constat autem secundum apostolum 1ª Cor. IX: "boves triturantes" sunt mistice dei adiutores ecclesiam edificantes; ideo, si foramen hostie sit vacuum, indubie desunt boves. Si enim deus potest facere panem esse corpus suum, ut dicunt sancti, ad quid essenciam materialem destrueret? Nec dubium quin deus hoc potest, ut patet in exemplis sanctorum.

And as a proof that He could do so, we have already seen the instances given by the Saints.

O. Et iterum manifestum est quod mundus iste dependet a quacunque materiali essencia; ita quod illud nephandum sophisma excludatur, "dependet a materia, sed a nulla materia dependet." Nam est ordo essencialis et prioritas naturalis causacionis inter totam materiam mundi | B 93d et ipsum, quia aliter nulla materia foret causa sui materiati; et per consequens est dare materiam distingwentem illam causacionem; sic enim est dare materiam hominis, domus et similium, a qua dependent.

This world depends on every part of its material essence, and therefore the annihilation of any part would prove the destruction of the whole.

Item, si ista materia posset secundum se totam partibiliter anichilari, cum hoc quod maneat iste mundus: per idem sic foret de forma, et per consequens deus non posset creare mundum alium; quia ad unitatem dei, posito mundo, staret idem mundus in numero.

If each material part of the world could thus be annihilated, so could each formal part; and God could not make another world.

Item, iuxta istam insaniam, melius foret quod tota materia mundi, forma et accidens, converterentur in partes Christi et sua accidencia, quam quod maneret sic dispersa; igitur nec a materia nec a forma dependet iste mundus. | A 86a Sicut enim dependet a specie materie vel forme, sic dependet a specie multiplicitatis accidentis, et sic posset Christus et quelibet eius pars quantitativa esse iste mundus; et sic nedum quelibet pars quantitativa Christi vel mundi superfluerit, sed anima Christi posset converti in animam mundi et quidlibet ydemptificari cuilibet. Nam assimilata tota materiali substancia mundi corpori Christi, sine hoc quod ipsum pluruficetur vel maioretur, dicunt quod nulla materialis substancia anichilatur sive destruitur, sed pocius recreatur in melius, licet desinat esse; quod non haberet colorem nisi remaneret idem mundus; et cum ille non posset fingi nisi corpus Christi, sequitur quod corpus Christi possit esse

Thus the world might be independent both of matter and of form, and become Christ's body by annihilation.

The soul of Christ would become the soul of the world, and all would be confused. But as nothing is absolutely annihilated, but only changed for the better, this would require that the world remained world as it was; and Christ's body was changed into it.

14. a *deest* CD. 22. tunc D. 27. ac D. 34. superfluit CD.

iste mundus et econtrario; et per idem omnis materialis substancia posset esse quelibet, quia da quod lapis non potest esse lignum. Contra, transubstanciato lapide in lignum aut qualibet tali substancia in quamlibet, transubstanciatum non propter hoc destruitur, sed ut sancti locuntur fit et est substancia in quam fit transsubstanciacio. Non | enim est aliqua pars eius, et si corrum- B 94a pitur ad corrupcionem sue materie, per idem mundus corrumperetur ad transsubstanciacionem cuiuscunque hostie consecrate. Et sic si desinit; quia aliter posset quelibet pars corporis desinere, ipso remanente salvo; ut, posito quod celum totum transsubstancietur in spheram corruptibilium et ipsa in spheram terre, que eciam transsubstancietur in centrum; et fiat proporcionabiliter transaccidentacio: Et videtur quod unum punctale remanet, tam substancialiter quam accidentaliter, sicut fuit in principio, magnus | mundus. A 86b

Details of absurdities that this would necessarily imply.

These errors come from pride; men exalt themselves, thinking that God could empower them to change a Saint in Heaven into a stone. For if He gave them power to make 'blessedness' inform a stone, they could do it, or God would not be Almighty!

P. In tales errores philosophie incidunt heretici contra Christum, quia extollunt se ut dictum est in materia de multiplicacione supra deum. Fingunt enim quod possunt facere lapides et quantumcunque abiectas substancias; ymmo ipsum accidens, corrumpendo quemcunque sanctum in celo: ut, posito quod deus concedat illis potestatem faciendi beatitudinem et alia accidencia in beatis spiritibus, informare lapides aut quantumcunque abiectas substancias, vel esse, destructa quacunque creatura beata. Nam, ut inquiunt, nisi deus posset dare illis talem potestatem, deus non esset omnipotens. Sicut igitur deus dat potestatem presbytero ut, virtute verborum suorum, faciat omnem partem panis desinere, et omnia accidencia que prius fuerunt in pane sine subiecto remanere, sic potest sacerdos habere a deo potenciam, ut virtute verborum dei transsubstanciet quemcunque beatum in lapidem, et facere qualitates que sunt in sancto informare illum lapidem; nam tam quantitas quam qualitas extensa potest multiplicari, ut inquiunt; quare igitur, cum | tanta sit utrobique distancia non B 94b possit accidens multiplicatum extendi, et iterum unio Q. forme cum materia, proporciones suarum parcium et numerus earum cum quotlibet similibus, multiplicatur in lapide; quare igitur non possent virtutes et beatitu-

According to them, material qualities can be multiplied and extended to other subjects: why then should not virtues and blessedness have the same properties?

7. alia BD; *corr.* A. 9. corruperetur AB. 13. speram *omnes MSS.* 17. dominus D. 19. quod BCD. 21. quamcunque AC. 29. ut *deest* B. 32. potestatem B. 39. proporcionis B.

dines? Hoc enim foret minus quam illos esse per se: quod, ut inquiunt, fieri potest, cum qualitates materia- A 86c les | minus perfecte et plus dependentes a materia ita possunt, ut fingitur; ille igitur qui posset dare illis accidentibus potenciam per se esse, posset habilitare subiectum ut supportet ipsa, et ut inclinent ad movendum ipsum subiectum atque communicent subiecto acciones suas; cum agregatum agit communiter accionem cuiuslibet partis sue. Et iterum, accidencia multa mediate denominant et informant secundum istam sectam.

This would be less difficult to conceive than that material qualities should exist without matter.

Quid igitur sciunt, utrum blasfemant, negando deum posse facere ista informare quamcunque materialem substanciam? Sed fingunt se non blasfemare de deo, menciendo quod alia eque incredibilia potest facere: ut, quod quantitas aut qualitas infinita, secundum partem informet quodcunque subiectum; et quod omne genus respectus sit sine subiecto, sicut fingitur de transubstanciacione, cuius termini queruntur, sed subiectum destruitur. Sic, inquam, generacio hec querit lucrum et admittit perdicionem subiecti.

Is it not blasphemy to deny God's power in this, if He can make infinite quantity exist partially in every subject, or relations obtain without anything being related?

Ultimo arguitur pro parte nostra quod nedum philosophi sed omnes sancti de millenario Christi tacuerunt accidens esse sine subiecto vel sacramentum esse accidens; unde igitur oriretur tam scandalosum mendacium? Et confirmacio istius est, quod loquentes nostri sine racione vel autoritate sunt contrarii sibi ipsis: quod B 94c evidenter docet istam ficticiam processisse a | patre mendacii, quia subtiliores et quo ad illuminacionem fidei clariores cicius novissent istum fidei articulum, A 86d quam posteriores illusibiles | in penam peccati quod in signis perpetrant.

The partisans of this error contradict themselves and each other.

R. Nec dubium, quin in minori fide de dotacione detestanda, de symonia destruenda cum similibus diucius erravit ecclesia nostra occidua; quod non capies penes nostrum arbitrium sed penes fundacionis et racionis carenciam et penes testimonium Augustini contrarium et penes militacionem contrarie racionis. Omnes enim adversarii nesciunt fundare in scriptura, in racione, in testimonio sanctorum vel legum papalium, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens; sed, accumulantes mendacium mendacio, concludunt ex isto consequi, quod

The Church has certainly long been in error on many points, if Augustine and the evidence of reason are to be trusted. And if the adversaries were right, it would prove that the early Church was wrong.

14. possunt B. 15. aut qualitas *deest* D. 19. generacione B.
20. dimittit ABC. 29. cariores *omnes MSS.*

nimis diu ecclesia stetit in errore: quo concesso, rimandum eis esset, quomodo et quando fuit error iste in ecclesiam introductus; et, si non fallor, quando fratres tacendo et loquendo docmatisant quod expedicius foret ecclesie sic dotari, quam vivere pauperem vitam exproprietariam quam Christus instituit; ipsi enim

The Friars, at least by their acts, assert that it is better for the Church to have possessions.

verbis, omissionibus, procuracionibus, et apostatacionibus aspirando ad altitudinem status proprietarii mundani, dicunt in facto, licet sibi ipsis contrarie, quod perfeccius et religiosius eis foret in dotacionibus temporalium habundare. Unde in altis edificacionibus et sue secte appropriacionibus, dicunt in facto istam irreligiosam versuciam, ita quod hec heresis alludit ut finis omni

This heresy, contrary to the ordinary run, takes no trouble to quote Scripture for itself;

errori. Non enim legi de heresi Christiani, quin apparenter fundat se super scriptura | sacra. Hec autem heresis tanquam alter deus non petit fundacionem | a deo bono, et patet fidelibus notorietas heresis; nam omnis veritas, et precipue articuli fidei catholice, est in A 87[a] B 94[d]

v. g. as to the present question.

scriptura. Sed ista sentencia de quidditate sacramenti non est in scriptura: igitur conclusio. Maior patet per

Yet all things of faith are in Scripture; if not revealed, God acts unjustly when He wills them to be believed under pain of damnation.

beatum Augustinum, secundo *"De doctrina Christiana"*, S. in fine; et confirmatur per hoc quod aliter inponeret deo, cuius perfecta sunt opera, blasfemiam quod ipse incomplete celavit fidem quam voluit suos sub pena dampnacionis credere. Unde adversarii, ad evacuandum istam blasfemiam, dicunt quod utrobique scriptura intelligit per panem sacramentalem accidens sine subiecto, et sic heretice accumulant heresim super heresim. Nam, ut ipsi arguunt, per istos ducentos annos perseveravit ista sentencia in magnis doctoribus, igitur vera; sic

They reply: this opinion, held for 200 years, is true; we retort: the other was held for 1000 years. Never before was Scripture understood thus.

evidencius arguitur: per mille annos et amplius perseveravit nostra sentencia in maioribus doctoribus quando Christus plus illuminavit suam ecclesiam, igitur vera. Nusquam enim invenitur sanctos sic exponere sacram scripturam ad sensum contrarium. Et evidencia est, quod non habent sensum suum ex deo, eo quod non sunt unicordes, ut unus exponit nomen panis per unum genus accidentis et alius per aliud; tercius autem monstruosius, per agregacionem accidentis; et iste hereses non fun-

3. quod CD. 7. et apostatacionibus *deest* AB. 12. religiosam BCD. 21. secundo *deest* BCD. 38. aliud CD.

24. *Celavit* is obviously a mistake; but *revelavit* is too far from the form. Perhaps we should read *complete celavit*.

dantur, sed antichristus primo tollit certitudinem scripture, et secundo retorquet sibi scolam Christi quod A 87b debet sibi omnibus credi. Quantum | ad sensum dicit, quod in hoc non debet credi sensui de ista substancia materiali, cum deus ordinat ista accidencia signare hominibus false et erronee. Nec valet certitudo racionis naturalis, cum nemo scit, si aliquid informat substan- B 95a ciam; | cum, ut inquiunt, contingentissimum sit quod informacio suspendatur, quod tota substancia destruatur, et quod a mundi principio illud quod ponitur naturale fuit vel falsum vel supernaturale, et id quod ponitur iam supernaturale fuit ex ordinacione divina factum, secundum communem cursum nature. Nam sic potuit esse, ut inquiunt; nec est racio quin sic fuit. Et sic corrumpunt cursum ecclesie, que ante introduccionem istius erroris orat in 2^a missa natalis domini in secreto, quod "hec oblacio" quam vocat terrenam substanciam, "nobis conferat quod divinum est".

They forbid us to believe in the evidence of our senses, so that we do not know if what we call natural is not either a false seeming or a supernatural appearance.

T. Caveamus igitur ab istis fallaciis Antichristi; papa dicit fideliter quod panis et vinum transsubstanciantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, igitur sacramentum altaris est accidens sine subiecto. Si papa dicit erranter quod aliqua accidencia sunt sine subiecto, tunc fidelis debet credere quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Si doctores diu continuant in isto errore, igitur semper ulterius debet credi. Quidam enim grosse concipiunt accidencia corpora subtilia; ut pictores et tinctores vocant colores corpora, quibus alia corpora sunt linita. Quidam autem subtilius intelligunt subiectum deesse illis qualitatibus sensibilibus sacramenti quan- A 87c tum ad actualem con | sideracionem quidditatis et nature sui subiecti. Sed supponendo generalem distinccionem novem generum accidentis, patet quod alienum est quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Tota itaque multitudo subterfugiorum ponencium sacramentum altaris esse unum fantasma incognitum, stat in isto: vel quia equivocant, vel loquuntur de accidentibus et sub- B 95b stanciis materialibus, non secundum suas | naturas, ut sapientes diffinierunt, sed transferunt nomina ad sensum equivocum; sicut sophiste contendunt, quod homo potest esse felicitas, fides, spes, et caritas et per idem quid-

Fallacies of Antichrist: "the Pope asserts transsubstantiation; therefore absolute accidents are true". "He makes a mistake; therefore we are to follow him". Differences of ideas as to accidents; some speaking as if they were thinly corporal; others as the substance, considered thus and thus.

All these subterfuges, making of the Sacrament a fantastic appearance, are resolved into mere equivocations.

Just as sophists contend that a man *is* his abstract qualities;

2. tercio D. 7. sed *pro* si B. 11, 12. et id — fuit *deest* B. 16. erat D. 23. alia B; *corr.* A. 26. ideo B. 33. accidentis *deest* A. 34. est B.

so they say that the sacrament *is* roundness, whiteness, &c. But they ought to be punished for deluding the Church, by a denial of alms until they have said what the Sacrament is.

And as they disagree on many heads, they should set down in writing what their sect believes: for whichever opinion is wrong, blasphemes.

I. Cor. IX, 14

A 87ᵈ

B 95ᶜ

libet nominandum et pari racione quidlibet potest esse quidlibet. Sed scola intendit de sacramento sensibili corporis Christi, quod sacerdos in missa consecrat, virtute verborum Christi, postquam ipsum tanquam hostiam consecrandam antea offerebat. Ipsum autem est illud album et rotundum intinctum quod fidelis corporaliter manducat et terit dentibus et quod ecclesia dicit ante consecracionem fuisse verum panem, factum sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Cum igitur in isto ecclesie fidelium tantum illuditur, videtur iuri consonum quod seculares non dent fratribus vel alicui presbitero elemosinam corporalem antequam ipsi plene docuerint, quid sit illud venerabile sacramentum. Illam enim cathechizacionem de sacramento altaris, tenetur presbiter seculari inpendere, ut innuitur 1ª Cor. IX°; ideo petenti elemosinam a layco, debet dici con | stanter quod nichil habebit ab ipso, antequam detexerit sibi fidem catholicam in hac parte. Et cum multe secte in isto variant, exigatur a fratre quod in scriptis certificent illam esse communem sentenciam secte sue. Illud enim foret seculari necessarius quam littere fraternales; potissime cum aliis orthodoxis propter antiquam fidei sentenciam imponunt heresim; et quecunque pars fuerit in hoc falsa, seminat de Christo blasfeme mendacia, et indigna est vivere de bonis ecclesie, quia in fide per cautelas dyaboli seducit populum. Non igitur communicari debet cum talibus antequam in isto detexerint rectam | fidem; nam vel laborant invidia, perfidia vel ignorancia et undique prudenter examinati, accusabunt se ipsos tanquam in fide contrarios.

11. debent B. 15. innuit CD. 19. certificet C.

CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

Restat ulterius videre, quomodo in materia de quidditate hostie Antichristi discipuli sunt divisi. Ponunt enim aliqui, ut sepe repecii, quod sacramentum altaris sit quantitas; et cum sex sunt genera quantitatis, sacramentum ponitur corporeitas, crassitudo vel altitudo que condam fuit in pane. Et ista opinio ascribitur sancto Thome super 4° distinccione 12. Racio autem ad hoc ponendum est talis: Impossibile est qualitatem materialem (cum consequitur formam) esse, nisi fundetur in quantitate consequente materiam; sed sacramentum hostie est accidens; igitur est primum et fundamentale A 88a accidens im | mediatum substancie: quod secundum philosophos est quantitas. Item, sacramentum istud est coloratum et diversimode qualificatum, sed hec non potest competere qualitati; ideo oportet quod ipsum sacramentum sit quantitas, que subiectet huiusmodi qualitates; cum secundum philosophos albedo est primo in superficie. Et per idem qualitates corporee in profunditate. Item, sacramentum istud est vere continuum et alterabile, quod non potest competere qualitati; ideo relinquitur quod sit quantitas. Qualitas enim non est quanta vel continua nisi per quantitatem, cum substancia non possit esse huiusmodi; multo magis qualitas non est per se magna sive continua. Multa sunt talia argumenta, que inevitabiliter concludunt quod si ipsum sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, ipsum est quantitas.

B. Sed primo improbatur hec triplex evidencia: patet B 95d autem quod prima | consequencia non valet, cum totum antecedens sit verum et consequens impossibile. Nam qualitas, licet sit fundamentum ~~religionis~~, non sibi

Divisions of the Sects: some say that the Sacrament is quantity: volume, thickness or depth.

Why? 1st Because quality, based on form, could not exist unless by quantity, based on matter.

2nd Quality cannot have qualities as the Sacrament has; therefore they are based upon quantity.

3rd The Sacrament is extended, and quality is not extended by itself, only by quantity.

I. Answers: neither quality nor quantity can exist without a subject to sustain them.

4. aliquid AB. 26. ipsum ipsum C. 31. quantitas CD; *ib.* et non *omnes MSS.*

8. St. Th. Aq. *In lib. Sent.* l. IV, dist. XII, art. 1. *Et ideo dicendum est.* 31. *Religionis* is in all the MSS.; but I fail to understand what it has to do here.

Quality is not its own subject, but the substance which has the quality.

subicitur, sed substancia que illi qualitati subicitur; sic quantitas, quia inseparabiliter consequitur ad materiam primam, que requiritur fundamentaliter ad formam substancialem, quam qualitas ipsa consequitur: ideo quantitas requiritur, ut fundamentum huiusmodi qualitati, sed neutra illarum potest esse sine substancia subiectante.

II. The thing supposed is impossible: viz. that such accidents can exist.

Quantum ad secundum argumentum, patet quod peccat in materia et in forma; supponit enim hoc impossibile, quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto: albedo enim est primo in superficie ut in fundamento, non in subiecto: quia substancia superficialis sub | iectat A 88^b utrumque.

For even inseparable accidents are not conceivable without their subjects; much less size, which is separable.

Unde videtur quod puderet istos allegare pro parte ista philosophos, cum ipsi vere dicant concorditer quod accidens non potest esse vel intelligi sine subiecto; ut patet VII° Methaphisice. Nam accidencia inseparabilia, ut simitas et risibilitas, non possunt intelligi sine suo subiecto; igitur multo magis accidencia minoris existencie et tante dependencie ad subiectum. Quamvis enim motus et alii respectus sint accidencia separabilia, nullus tamen tam stulte intelligit quod illa

For *separable* does not mean separate existence; only what the substance can lose, v. g movement.

accidencia poterunt per se esse et separari a subiecto: sed subiectum potest esse sine illis; et sic genus accidentis talis posset separari a substancia per carenciam inherencie sui individui. Omnes igitur qualitates corporee fundantur in corporeitate et tam illam quam qualitatem oportet fundari in substancia subiectante.

III. True, the Sacrament is extended; but it follows that it has the nature of bread, not only its quantity.

Quantum ad tercium patet quod verum assumitur, C. sed inpertinenter falsum concluditur. Est enim sacramentum istud secundum terrenam substanciam vel naturam panis qui de terre fructibus quo pascitur homo corporaliter, sicut primo inter sacramenta pascitur | B 96^a eukaristia sacramentaliter et primo potatur vino sacramentaliter; et sic, pastus ille sacramentalis in digne recipientibus est partim corporalis et partim spiritualis. In omnibus autem istis frons meretricis assumitur inpudenter ab impudicis hereticis, et nunc negant more diaboli veritatem et nunc cespitant super veritate supini.

1. sit *pro* sic *omnes MSS.* 10, 11. albedo — subiecto *deest* BCD. 10. et *deest* CD. 19. sicut *pro* sint CD. 20, 21. nullus — accidencia *deest* BCD. 21. potuerunt D. 23. separari C. 28. subiectum BCD; *corr.* A. 30. que BCD. 31. spiritualiter *pro* corporaliter BCD. 31, 32. sicut — sacramentaliter *deest* BCD. 32, 33. corporaliter *pro* sacramentaliter BCD. 33. et *deest* B. 36, 37. et — veritatem *deest* CD. 37. ut *omnes MSS.*

16. Arist. ed. F. Didot, vol. II, p. 542 (c. V). 16. *Simitas* (to be snub-nosed) and *risibilitas* are frequent examples of inseparable qualities, taken from Aristotle.

Vident enim ad oculum quod sacramentum est sensibile, et unum continuum, ac per se mobile; ideo cum predicamenta sint distincta, negato quod sit qualitas vel respectus, concludunt quod sit quantitas; quia blas-
B 88c feme statuunt, quod deus non accepit substanciam | ut sit sacramentaliter corpus suum, sed accidens a deo alienissimum; cum materia prima non sit sub gradu accidentis. Et sic a perfeccione vel condicione Christi maxime elongantur. Unde tripliciter arguitur quod ipsum sacramentum non sit quantitas supradicta: primo, quia nulla talis quantitas est activa; ipsum sacramentum est activum: igitur ipsum sacramentum non est talis quantitas. Maior patet: primo, ex hoc quod materia prima que est subiectum primum illius quantitatis, non est activa; igitur nec ipsa quantitas. Patet consequencia ex hoc, quod agente accidente subiecti, oportet ipsum subiectum prius agere. Secundo, quia quantitas non informatur subiective, sed fundamentaliter aliqua qualitate; sed hoc non sufficit ad denominandum ipsam agere; quia sic foret eque multipliciter et prius activa, sicut aliqua materialis substancia, quia nulla materialis substancia nisi mediante ipsa quantitate foret activa: quod non conceditur communiter, cum quantitas non sit sapida, calida vel sonora. Tercio, quia, rarefacto subiecto per totum, continue innovatur quantitas secundum se totam; et per consequens nulla una agit continue, licet subiectum
B 96b egerit mediante qualitate. Et | confirmatur ex hoc quod
D. si quantitas sic egerit, qualiscunque quantitas conformis figure sic ageret, et per consequens quecunque substancia conformiter figurata; ideo cum consequens sit impossibile, patet quod oportet scrutari aliud principium accionis. Et hec racio quare Averois dicit, super 4to phisicorum, quod quantitas non est de genere acti-
A 88d vorum. Et patet sicut urina, dieta et substancia | dicuntur equivoce sana, sic subiectum et quantitas dicuntur equivoce colorata: quantitas, quia est fundamentum coloris, et subiectum quia principiat subiective colorem mediante sua forma substanciali, que ipsam dirigit ad

Reasons against this theory. *a)* Quantity cannot be active, as the Sacrament is, for its subject, primordial matter, is inactive. An accident cannot act without its subject. Quantity has no form, but by qualities; and a quality is not active by itself.

When there is rarefaction, quantity is renewed completely, and therefore in this case cannot act.

Qualities are not univocally ascribed to quantity and to substance. The former is only the basis e. g. of visible qualities or colours.

3. notato B; *corr.* A. 6. fit B. 11. quod BCD. 12. non est accidens BCD. 13. in natura BCD. 15. nec est D. 18. alia quantitate B. 20. alia C. 28. sic — qualiscumque *deest* D.

32. Averr. Comm, in Arist. *(Ven. ap. Junctas, 1562)* l. IV. Physic. *De Vacuo,* c. III, fol. 154 M. "Dimensiones enim, quando abstrahuntur a materia, non habebunt potentiam."

agendum. Quia autem quantitas est basis trianguli visibilis, et non sic de aliis qualitatibus, ideo ponitur pocius fundamentum coloris quam aliarum qualitatum.

That the Sacrament is active can be proved by the visibility and changeableness of both the elements.

Minor autem principalis argumenti patet, discurrendo per multa genera accionum. Est autem sacramentum per se descensivum, visibile, et aliorum sensuum mutativum, sicut patet per experimentum; est autem alterabile, sicut patet de sacramento calicis, quod potest calefieri, acefieri et valde varie transmutari. Et de sacramento panis, non dubium quin sit tam varie activum et passivum, sicut alius panis non consecratus. Potest enim fieri mucidus, humidus, calefieri, comburi. Ideo vel oportet negare omnem sensum et per consequens racionem, vel concedere cum universali ecclesia quod ipsum sacramentum sit terrena substancia: et per consequens non est quantitas sine subiecto.

We must be ready to deny our senses, or admit this.

b) No quantity, existing in the concrete, can be increased or diminished; now the Sacrament can. A number, if increased, is no longer the same.

So also of place and time.

A line, pulled out to its double, is longer; i. e. an new quantity arises.

Item, iuxta principia philosophorum, nulla una quan- E. titas secundum ultimum singulare potest maiorari vel minui; sed illud sacramentum secundum ultimum singulare potest tam maiorari quam minui, ut patet ex dictis; igitur ipsum non est quantitas. Maior patet discurrendo per sex genera quantitatis; nam numerus est istius nature | quod, addita vel subtracta unitate indi- B 96c viduali, remanet alius numerus in specie; locus autem est inmobilis; et de tempore, quantumcunque | modicum A 89a sit additum vel ablatum fit tempus aliud. Et idem patet de linea, superficie et corpore. Si enim linea pedalis potest maiorari vel minui, manens idem ultimum singulare, ponatur quod maioretur ad duplum suum, et patet quod oportet quantitatem linearem generari. Et per consequens vel in toto, vel ex antiqua et nova oportet lineam novam fieri. Si enim A potest maiorari sine generacione vel deperdicione quantitatis, et multo magis a pari, notabilis substancia potest maiorari et minorari sine aquisicione vel deperdicione quantitatis. Et sic fieret motus sine eius materia vel mensura, penes quam eius velocitas attendi poterit. Ymmo nulla foret quantitas distincta a substancia: et sic de multis obiectibus communiter adductis. Et idem est argumentum de superficie et corpore. Nec valet tollere hanc racionem per miracula, quia ipsa non possunt in contradiccionem. Si igitur deus facit quod A movetur vel

To deny this would lead to saying that motion without anything moved is possible. You cannot call in a miracle to do what is self-contradictory.

6, 7. immutativum A; mutatum BCD. 26. sit BC. 28. ultimum. ultimum C.

maioratur, tunc facit ea que ad huiusmodi requiruntur; quia aliter non foret nisi illusio. Ut si deus per impossibile multiplicaret eundem punctum, vel eandem quantitatem in numero, foret nedum sacramentum sed tota moles sensibilis sine aliqua quantitate continua permanente. Hoc enim foret miraculosius, compendiosius et perfeccioni divine propinquius et undiquaque deo F. eque possibile et evidencius ex datis deducibile. Et B 96^d patet | maior principalis argumenti. Si enim quantitas maioratur vel minoratur, illa est quantitas communis aut successiva cui partes varie aquiruntur vel deperduntur A 89^d | minor autem principalis argumenti patet ab experimento certissimo. Nam ut loquar secundum racionem Innocencii 3^ii 3° decretalium, capitulo "*Cum Marthe*", possibile est duo accidencia calicis commisceri et replere maiorem situm calicis et per consequens sacramentum potest maiorari. Ipsum igitur, cum non potest esse quantitas, oportet ponere materialem substanciam, cui proprium est per se suscipere maius et minus de formis contrariis, ac subiective mutari secundum maiorem constanciam quam est quantitas vel genus aliquod accidentis. Et ita, ut supra, oportet concedere cum universali ecclesia quod sacramentum sit terrena substancia.

Can God multiply the same point, the same individual quantity? Better bring in a sensible mass without quantity, if you will have a miracle. Only successive or abstract quantity, can be increased; not concrete, here and now.

Now the Sacrament can be increased in quantity, e. g. by pouring the wine element from chalice to chalice.

Et ita, sicut cultores signorum mutant ordinem religionis Christiane, ita opinione immutant regulas et leges nature, ita quod de illis potest verificari id psalmi Ps. LXXIII, 5 LXXIII°: *Posuerunt signa sua, signa, et non cognoverunt, sicut in exitu super summum.* "*Posuerunt*" inquam, quia deficiente fundamento scripture ad probandum sacramentum esse accidens declinaverunt ad comenta sophistica fingentes ex dei omnipotencia sic posse fieri, sicut ponunt, et more sophistarum sic ponunt fieri de inesse. Nec est fundamentum aliud opinionibus istis in ista materia, quamtumlibet variatis. Unde, quia quilibet habet istius erroris opinionem propriam de sacramento quod ut sic est signum sensibile, signanter dicitur quod "posuerunt signa *sua*", non signa ecclesie; ipsa enim ponit, ut sepe repecii, quod illa hostia sit materialis substancia: et cum sic declinant a veritate, et per consequens B 97^a A 89^e | ab unitate, signanter geminantur, mendax binarius, cum dicitur quod "posuerunt *signa* sua, *signa*".

Vigorous digression against the Nominalists, who change Christ's religion and the laws of nature. Psalm: *Posuerunt signa sua.* Why *posuerunt?* because it is a baseless *position* of theirs;

signa sua; because it is their doctrine, not the Church's;

signa is repeated twice because of their duplicity;

5. alia CD. 6. mi'a et *pro* miraculosius D. 7. et *deest* D.
26. quod *deest* AB. 27. 2nd signa *struck out* A, *deest* CD.
28. textu ACD, *corr.* B. 31. sicut C. 36. signum *deest* B.

Signa enim ecclesie que Christus instituit denegant esse signa. Et ita videtur michi quod dictus infamis binarius signorum potest signare in eis mendacium signorum sacramentalium in quod ob penam peccati prioris miserabiliter sunt deducti. Et signanter sequitur G. quod "*non cognoverunt*", quia cece circum palpitantes, nec cognoverunt aufugium quo inconveniencia fidelium devitarent; omnes enim de scola sathane sunt eciam a se ipsis insolubiliter redarguti, et non cognoverunt post rimas laboriosas quomodo fundacionem secte sue palliarent. Nec mirum; quia "*super summum*" blasfemant in supremo gradu "*exitus*" apostasie sue a religione Christiana. Ideo necesse est ut stulti facti sint, propter dyabolicam sapienciam simulatam. "*Super summum*" dico, quia deum ponunt dicere, quod signa sua accidencium sint corpus Christi; et per consequens deus ipse. Ideo necesse est ut *exitus* iste mendacii *super summum* superinducat ignoranciam cognoscendi. Aliter autem humiles Christi discipuli cognoverunt eum, et per consequens veritatem, in fraccione panis; quia non musitarunt nec intellexerunt, quod panis ille sit sine subiecto genus aliquod accidentis.

non cognoverunt, because they are blinded by their own inconsistencies; *super summum*, because they have blasphemed in the highest degree.

Item videtur ex propriis principiis huius secte quod nedum sacramentum eukaristie sed quodlibet corpus sit infinitum magnum; quia nedum asserit quod quantitates et essenciales materie coextendi po | terunt, sed A 89d infinitas quantitates ponit coextendi, que unam constituunt | . Nam omnem quantitatem que prius fuit in B 97b pane, ponunt remanere post consecracionem; sed infinita quantitas prius fuit in pane; igitur tanta remanet post consecracionem. Pro deduccione minoris suppono H. quod materia prima de dei omnipotencia componatur ex suis partibus intensivis; quod swadetur tripliciter sectam istam debere concedere; primo, quia ponit deum nedum posse sed de facto coextendere corpora, et per consequens materias que prius fuerant separata. Et certum est quod materias que possunt unam rem componere sic applicatas deus componit, vel potest componere. Et iterum certum est quod quelibet earum habet vel habere potest propriam quantitatem, sicut habent ante et post coexistenciam; quantitas enim non est nisi substanciam esse quantam. Sic igitur ponunt

From their principles it would follow that everything is infinitely great.

For they suppose that different quantities are really coextended in the Sacrament.

In the same manner as they assert that quantities can be coextended in the

13. sunt D. 18. indicat *pro* inducat B. 25. Fit B. 35. co *deest* BC. 37. rem *deest omnes MSS.*

quantitates calicum posse coextendi, sic debent concedere quodlibet posse coextendi. Et idem patet de illa famosa opinione quod elementa sunt in mixtis, quam decretalis Innocencii 3^{ii}, capitulo. *"Cum Marthe,"* reliquit tanquam probabilem. Si enim elementa sunt in pane, cum extenduntur secundum veram mixtionem, ut inquiunt, oportet materiam primam componi ex suis partibus intensivis, quia aliter eque densus foret ignis in pane vel plumbo, sicut terra, cum forma sua sub equali quantitate eandem materiam in numero actuaret; A 90[a] et cum penes illud habet densitas | corporis attendi, oportet dicere quod eque densus foret ignis in mixto ut terra; vel aliter, quod forma ignis actuat dumtaxat unam raram partem intensivam totalis materie. Et sequitur B 97[c] iuxta dicta | quod in pane sunt multe quantitates et materie coextense, et iuxta opinionem tot taliter remanent in hostia consecrata.

Sacrament, they must suppose them so in everything else.

If, according to the decretal of Innocent, it is probable that the elements exist in the compound, it would follow that bread contains several quantities and primordial matters, all coextended in the same place.

Tercio, probatur ad hominem pro dicta sentencia per hoc quod sunt multe qualitates, tam eiusdem speciei quam disparium, coextense, et quelibet earum habet propriam quantitatem; igitur oportet esse correspondenciam in fundamento nature. Argumentum deducunt per hoc quod aliter nulla foret qualitas remissa, cum non potest intendi vero motu, nisi aquirendo unam qualitatem super priorem. Ideo dicit Averroys, super 3° *De celo et mundo*, comento 67, quod forme elementares possunt intendi et remitti tanquam media inter substancias et accidencia; et sic sunt in mixtis secundum formas remissas. Et sic inquiunt quoscunque debere ponere, qui ponunt formas materiales posse intendi et remitti. Unde, ad roborandum quod qualitates componuntur ex partibus intensivis, adducunt coextensiones luminum et aliarum qualitatum spiritualium: quo concesso, probatur isti secte quod quelibet talis materialis qualitas habet propriam quantitatem que foret sibi accidens. Ideo non est racio quin sic habeat, eo ipso quo extenditur, cum sit prior sua quantitate, que sibi accidit. Et quotlibet talibus evidenciis convincitur, quod oportet A 90[b] istam sectam ponere infinitas quantitates coexten | sas in quolibet sacramento altaris, tam racione materiarum

Many qualities exist in bodies, each coextended, and each having its own quantity (so they say).

Averroes says that the elementary forms, half substances, half accidents, can be more or less intense.

Which (with the examples of several coextended qualities), brings them to the above conclusion.

This varying intensity being a true quantity of these qualities, is an accident. They therefore are extended, have another quantity; and so on for ever.

4, 5. relinquit CD. 22. Et istum *pro* argumentum B. 23. quantitas B. 30. quia D. 36. ergo AB.

25. Averr. *ubi supra*.

Therefore in the Sacrament there are an infinite number of coextended quantities. This is absurd; for though A (sacrament or anything) be not infinitely great, it has an infinite amount of quantity.

et formarum substancialium que prefuerunt in pane et vino, quam racione qualitatum materialium remanencium; cum omnes ille forme accidentales, ut inquiunt, sunt servate. Quibus premissis, arguitur primo proposita K. conclusio; quia, da quod | A, sacramentum vel corpus B 97[d] pedale, non sit infinitum magnum, contra ipsum est ita magnum sicut totalis eius quantitas, cum vel sit illa quantitas vel sibi equalis; sed infinitum magna est quecunque talis quantitas; igitur conclusio. Nam ita magna est, ut supponitur ex dictis, sicut potest esse; sed infinitum magna potest esse. Si enim unum pedale A quantitatis foret ex dei omnipotencia extractum et per situm equalem A immediate per se positum et continuatum, et sic infinitum versus omnem differenciam posicionis, patet quod quantitas composita foret infinita. Et ita magnum est modo, licet quantitates fuerint convolute, sicut filum est ita magnum convolutum in globo sicud foret extractum in longum.

That quantity is 'rolled up' does not matter; a thread rolled up is just as long as when unrolled. And in the Sacrament the quantity will be no less; if infinite before consecration, then infinite after.

Nec valet dicere quod deficiet quantitas pedalis extrahendo, quia quot fuerunt materie prime pedales coextense, tot remanent in sacramento quantitates pedales; et iterum, racione qualitatum remanent in sacramento eciam infinite quantitates pedales; et de totidem infinitis quantitatibus pedalibus non communicantibus possunt extrahi versus omnem differenciam posicionis eciam infinite. Nec valet dicere quod | quantitates coextense non A 90[c] quantitative sed intensive componunt aliam: primo, quia subiectum est eque intense magnum per unam, sicut foret per quotlibet coextensas. Ideo dicunt philosophi quod quantitas non suscipit magis et minus. Secundo, quia nulla quantitas potest maiorari vel minorari secundum ultimum singulare, ut declaratur in proximo argumento; sed quantitas convoluta et iam expansa est sic magna; igitur ipsa | fuit pro tempore B 98[a] coextensionis parcium ita magna et per consequens partes, sicut solum quantitative fuerunt, sic quantitative suum totum composuerunt. Nec valet tercio dicere quod L. quantitates sic extracte et novo modo composite componunt quantitatem novam, que non prefuit; quia, sicut quantitates possunt extrahi integre, ita possunt unum componere; et cum prefuerint componentes unam quando fuerunt coextense, videtur quod eandem componunt

Even if these quantities coexist only intensively: the subject is as great by one as by all.

Besides, to suppose that compressed quantity is smaller than uncompressed, is to admit that individual quantity can be increased or diminished: which has been proved false.

If it be said that, extracting these quantities, we compose a new one that was not there before, — we

14. in *pro* sic D. 17. involute D. 37. quod quod CD. 38. sint *pro* sic BCD.

modo. Sufficit enim ad individuacionem tocius ydemptitas omnium suarum parcium, licet habeant modum alium componendi; ut linea recta potest fieri circularis, vel aliter figurata, ut alibi deductum est. Nec valet, quarto, quod in confinio parcium compositarum generatur nova quantitas, quia aliter foret composicio continui ex non quantis; tum quia illud est verum; tum eciam quia per idem corrumperentur due quantitates extremales, loco unius generate; et sic foret quantitas expansa A 90[d] minor quam fuerat convoluta; quia plus de illa | corrumperetur, quam ad illam generaretur. Ideo, notata tota quantitate antiqua que remanet iam expansa, patet quod illa est infinitum magna et per consequens ita magna fuit antea convoluta. Similiter impossibile est quantitates sic coextendi, nisi fuerint infinite que non adequate componunt aliquod tercium, et per consequens est dare quantitates sic extensas que possent separari ab invicem, ipsis manentibus continuis in extremis, cum B 98[b] hoc quod in fine precise componant, | ut modo; et per consequens tantum sunt modo ut forent in fine; et sequitur quod infinitum posset resultare ex quocunque corpore, precise secundum composicionem qua modo M. componuntur partes ad invicem. Et ex istis deducunt philosophi quod in quolibet situ puncti, linee vel superficiei sunt infinita huiusmodi simul; quod supponitur hic esse impossibile. Ideo manifestum est quod composicio ex partibus intensivis materie, forme vel accidentis, non stat cum veritate. Ideo oportet fidelem dicere, quod continuum componitur ex non quantis, quod ista opinio detestatur. Et patet evidenter ex principiis huius secte, quomodo sequitur quod omne sacramentum vel corpus sensibile sit immensum; sed nichil est illo magis hereticum. Ideo ipsum est iuxta dicta in capitulo 10 a fidelibus respuendum. Nam secundum deduccionem alibi declaratam, talis infidelitas foret omnino superflua et sapiencie divine contraria.

answer that a line is no shorter when circular than when straight.

We are therefore reduced to admit an infinite quantity; but as this is impossible, coextended quantities are a false hypothesis.

The *continuum* is not composed of parts having size; otherwise each body, and not only the Sacrament is infinitely great.

Conclusion: this theory is inadmissible.

A 91[a] Ideo fingunt alii tanquam profundio | res heretici, quod eukaristia non sit accidens unius generis sed agregacio accidencium diversorum in genere sine substancia subiectante. Isti autem ficticie novelle deficit primo fundamentum; quia nec in scriptura nec in doctoribus novis vel antiquis, nec in ecclesie legibus est fundata,

Others say that the Eucharist is an aggregate of accidents; a groundless and still more absurd assertion.

6. foret *deest* B. 24. punctus BCD.

Every reason that is against each accident, is against their aggregate.

sed expresse contrarium. Item, cum non pertinet ad opinionem istam intelligere hanc agregacionem simpliciter abstractive, sed concretive; scilicet pro illis accidentibus agregatis. patet quod quecunque racio militat contra aliquod | illorum, militat eciam contra huiusmodi B 98c agregata. Item videtur, ut supra, quod illud sacramentum non sit aliquid vel quicquam valens, quod non competit corpori Christi, sed contradicit tam racioni quam sensui; non enim convincet racio vel sensacio, quod aliquod sit corpus sensibile vere continuum, quin per idem sic foret de hostia; et ille qui simpliciter meliorando procedit, sicut acceptavit hostiam oblatam que fuit terrena substancia, sic melioraret hanc hostiam non acceptando unum et destruendo priorem hostiam sine causa.

The Sacrament is nothing and worth nothing; reason and sense are alike insulted.

It is scandalous to call an aggregate of accidents what St. Ambrose names a 'terrestrial substance'.

Item nimis magna foret presumpcio scandalisare uni- X. versalem ecclesiam que istis mille annis. ut creditur, ex doctrina beati Ambrosii, vocat hanc hostiam post consecracionem et oblacionem terrenam substanciam. Foret enim ecclesie scandalum nimie insipiencie, quod si sacerdos offert illam agregacionem accidencium que expectabit consecracionem, et fiet quodammodo corpus Christi, et illa terrena substancia destruetur, nichil conferens ecclesie vel sacramento futuro, | quod faciat A 91b mencionem de illa terrena substancia et omittat nominare illum fasciculum accidencium, qui remanebit sacramentum honorandum; et post consecracionem faciet totum opus sacramentale, potissime cum vocando ipsum fasciculum accidencium sine subiecta substancia consecrandum, tolleretur occasio credendi quod hec terrena substancia remanet sacramentum et informaretur ecclesia in fide de quidditate sacramenti usque hodie incognita. Si igitur hoc foret ad tantum melius, nimis stulta ceci | tas occupavit ecclesiam in mille annis in B 98d tam solemni secreta illud omittere et tantam stulticiam seminare. Et eadem stulticia convincitur de cunctis doctoribus millenarii Christi, qui omnes omiserant illud gloriosum genus eukaristie iam repertum. Et iterum videtur difficile fingere causam quare Christus offert hanc terrenam hostiam et post in puncto profectus omnino destrueret: cum Ysaac oblatus, Christus et martires sui

Why should he speak of this substance and forget to mention this bundle of accidents?

And the Church must have been blind during the first thousand years of its existence. Also all the early Fathers and Doctors. Why should Christ annihilate the Host, if the martyrs were changed for the better by their sacrifice?

17. qua ABD. 19. et *deest omnes MSS.* 21, 22. expectabat B. 24. facit B. 36. covincitur ABC.

per oblacionem mutantur; igitur melius, servata persona. Numquid ydolatre alludunt erroribus pontificum ydolorum, qui perditis magnatibus morte duplici fingunt quod rapiuntur, ut socii, in deorum suorum collegium? Sic, inquiunt, panis convertitur in corpus Christi, non sicut accidens in natura servatum; sed nusquam rei ipsius relinquens aliquid, tam secundum materiam quam O. formam omnino destruitur.

A god was made out of nothing in Pagan apotheosis: is this a copy of them?

A 91c Item, multa sunt accidencia in | hostia consecrata que subiectantur, ut oportet fideles credere de accidentibus respectivis; quantitas eciam et qualitas, cum possunt acquiri et perdi, sunt in aliquo subiective; igitur illud iuxta descripciones philosophorum, oportet esse substanciam distinctam a novem generibus accidentis; et cum illud sit aliquid suis accidentibus informatum, oportet concedere ipsum esse sacramentum altaris, et non fasciculum nichili supradictum; omnia enim dicta accidencia reducuntur ad ipsum tanquam ad aliquod unum agens quicquid fecerint illa accidencia.

Many accidents in the Host require a subject so the Eucharist must be a distinct substance, not a bundle of nothingness.

Unde adversarii concedunt quod omnia reliqua accidencia subiectantur in quantitate que, informata acci B 99a | dentibus, sit sacramentum; ut patet per famosiores doctores, Thomam, Egidium, Scotum, et alios: Non enim potest quantitas inpertinens esse fundacioni qualitatis, sicut nec prius fuit, pane manente. Sicut igitur fundat qualitatem, sic subiectat, si non sit subiectum ad subiectans utrimque; et per consequens, sicut quantitas informatur figura, sic quocunque accidente alio quod subiectat; quod cum sit impossibile, ut patet ex dictis, patet quod opinio illud gignens. Nam sacramentum calicis potest guttatim dividi, ut patet ad oculum; igitur per idem potest reuniri et continuari, et per consequens constituere unum continuum descensivum; nichil enim per se descendit nisi gravitas, vel habens in se gravitatem; iste autem fasciculus non habet in se gravitatem, quia nulla pars eius; gravitas enim est aliena a quantitate et quacunque alia qualitate.

Our opponents grant that the other accidents have quantity for their subject.
Quantity, basis of quality, informed by figure, &c. would itself be the subject, were there no other.
This being impossible, the opinion is false.

Weight has nothing to do with quantity and other accidents; but the Sacrament has weight.

A 91d Item, ex dictis sequitur quod dictum | sacramentum P. non sit visibile nec activum, quod est manifeste inopinabile et hereticum; consequenciam deducunt logici per hoc quod, si hoc sacramentum sit visibile, et per consequens res visibilis, et sic aliquid est ipsum sacra-

Consequences: the Sacrament is *a*) invisible; *b*) inactive.
a) 1st If visible, a visible *thing*; if a thing, a substance.

1. in C. 6. in *deest* BCD. 14. accidencium B. 28. figuratur *omnes MSS*. 35, 36. iste — gravitatem *deest* CD. 39. ut *pro* quod BCD.

2nd At least partly invisible, for many qualities are not to be seen.

mentum. Sed dimissa ista contencione logica, videtur quod hoc sacramentum non sit visibile, quia nec secundum totum nec secundum partem: non, inquam, secundum totum, quia multe sunt qualitates et quantitates aliorum sensuum que non sunt visibiles ut sic, oculo corporali, de qua visione primo loquitur. Nemo videt quantitatem que fuit materie prime; sic nemo videt gravitatem, duriciem, saporem et similes qualitates; et sic non videt ipsum sacramentum secundum se totum; | B 99b nec homo ipsum videt secundum sui partem, quia ex nulla parte aliquo modo componitur, cum nichil sit. Et si loquamur extense de parte, per idem loquendum est extense de toto corpore, et continuo quod ipsum sit aliquid terminans basim pyramidis visualis. Et hec conclusio evidencius sequitur, si sacramentum sit agregacio in abstracto, quia nullus respectus videtur, cuius extrema videri non possunt; ut nemo unionem anime cum corpore, nec videt multiplicacionem aliquorum, quorum multa non sunt visibilia. Specialiter, si non constituunt unum aliquod ab eis distinctum; ut nemo audit, gustat, olfacit vel tangit multiplicacionem insensibilem angelorum et ydearum in deo, cum multiplicacione sensibilium: quia sic sensibile foret insensibile, visibile invisibile, cum secundum plurimam | A 92a partem sui non foret sensibile. Nec foret sacramentum aliquid unum, sicut est exercitus vel cumulus qui nedum est una substancia, sed unum corpus vel una persona. Ideo locus a simili non concludit, quod sit visibile activum vel passivum, ut populus; quia per idem foret sacramentum infinitum longum, infinitum latum et infinitum magnum, ac contrarie qualificatum, ut est de suis partibus. Et patet quomodo Gog concludit scole sue, cum unus dicit quod videt in sacramento corpus Christi oculo corporali; alius autem dicit, quod nemo potest sic videre ipsum sacramentum, cum illud quod videmus sit color et non ipsum sacramentum; et sic foret sacramentum omnino insensibile | B 99c sicut est nobis incognitum.

Neither is even a part visible; 'nothing' is not made up of parts.

An aggregate of abstractions cannot be seen; but the Sacrament is, according to them, such an aggregate.

The Sacrament, as an aggregate, has no collective existence, like that of a people; for it has no quantitative unity.

b) The Sacrament is not active, any

Q. Et conformiter deducitur quod non sit activum vel passivum: ut multitudo ex deo et aliis non est creativa,

5. sint BCD. 6. prime ABC; *ib.* vidit D. 10. videt *deest* CD. 13. de corpore C. 23. visibile et AB. 26. tumulus ABC. 34. nemo *deest* D. 39. creatia AB.

39. Multitudo ex Deo et aliis: *suppl.* composita.

dampnata et beata cum aliis denominacionibus contrariis. Et per idem agregacio rerum tam disparium in genere nec agit nec patitur, si non earum quelibet sic se habet; quia aliter, mota una quacunque specie motus, omnia moverentur eadem; quod non dixerunt maniaci quos reprobat Aristoteles. Ex multis talibus patet gradus falsissimus huius vie. Ex istis probabiliter convincitur, quod inter omnes hereses que unquam de sacramento altaris surrepserant, heresis de eius quidditate, qua fingitur quod sit accidens sine subiecto vel talium agregacio, est magis subdola et blasfema. Cum enim ex fide et sanctorum testimonio illud sacramentum sit quodammodo corpus Christi, non secundum suam
A 92[b] substanciam sed miraculo verbi dei, parvipensio | illius hostie est correspondenter parvipensio corporis domini et sic dei. Sed non plus posset parvipendi, quam non solum reputando sed credendo et predicando quod est inperfeccius in natura sua quam substancia creata. Ymmo est realiter unum nichil. Tales, inquam, non adorarent hanc hostiam; sed dimissa veritate ewangelii fingerent monstruosum et infundabilem modum corporis Christi absconditum, et illum mendaciter adorarent.

R. Item, iuxta decretum De consecracione distinccione 2ª. *Ego Berengarius*, anathematizanda est omnis heresis que
B 99[d] ponit sacramentum altaris post consecra | cionem esse solum sacramentum et non corpus vel sanguinem Jesu Christi; sed hec heresis dicit istud et superaddit blasphemiam. Ponit enim quod ille panis sit sacramentum et non corpus Christi, et ponit implicite quod corpus Christi induitur superflue accidens per se, destructa panis substancia sine causa. Quod cum secundum sanctos non possit esse, patet quanta blasfemia menciendo de Christo incurritur; et licet consecratores accidentis cognoscant quod populus adorat hoc sacramentum tanquam corpus Christi, quod dicunt esse ydolatriam, tamen reticent, timendo quod quereretur ab eis quid sit hoc sacramentum, et perciperetur eorum mendax versucia. Et revera tota communitas fidelium debet communicacionem et corporalem sustentacionem subtrahere a talibus hereticis apostatis et blasphemis.

more than a multitude composed of God and other things; for this multitude has neither action nor passion.

These proofs show how cunningly blasphemous this heresy is.

The sacrament is the body of Christ; to make it an accident is therefore to slight Christ's body.

Its nature would be most imperfect.

To say that the Sacrament is only a sign after consecration has been condemned as heretical. Now that is exactly their position.

These accidents clothe Christ's body quite superfluously.

They know that to adore a mere sign is idolatry; yet they let the people do so. Such apostates ought not to receive any alms from the faithful.

4. unacunque BC. 10. quia *pro* qua B. 15. corporis Christi B. 20. adorent B. 20. fingeret BCD. 24. anathemanda *omnes MSS.* 29. multiplicite B. 33. consecraciones BC. 35. recitent B.

11. Cf. Trialogus, p. 248.

God can — and they do not know that He does not — make bread to be His body; and yet they deny it.

Item, deus potest consecrare panis substanciam faciendo ipsam esse | corpus suum, ut ex fide scripture A 92c et testimonio sanctorum clare convincitur; sed nesciunt quin sic facit de facto: igitur magna foret presumpcio simpliciter hoc negare. Consequencia patet ex hoc, quod dato antecedente ex dubio presumptor assereret heresim contra Christum. Per hoc enim argumentum captum a proposicione de possibili concludunt adversarii, quod sacramentum illud de facto sit accidens sine subiecto; quia deus, ut inquiunt, posset hoc facere, et testes multi hoc asserunt. Maior patet ex evidenciis beati Ambrosii adiuncto dicto Christi: "hoc est corpus meum"; blasphemum igitur foret negare deum posse hec facere. Et quantum ad veritatem | de inesse, patet ex uno latere B 100a quod beatus Augustinus cum ceteris affirmat deum non S. posse facere accidens sine subiecto. Nec scriptura sacra innuit cum sanctis doctoribus sacramentum esse accidens, sed vocat ipsum panem cum testimonio sanctorum. Ideo periculosum videtur exuere illud nomen, et infundabiliter induere alienum. Non enim docetur ex racione scriptura vel decreto ecclesie, quod ipsum sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, cum nec hoc movet racio, nec testimonii revelacio, nec scriptura. Sed ex alio latere sonant ad oppositum hec tria.

St. Augustine and others affirm that an accident cannot possibly exist without its subject.

Conclusion: we find that the only foundation of this theory is a lie about Innocent III.

Examinanda igitur foret fundabilis revelacio, super qua fundaretur ista sentencia, sed toto facto non est originalis fundacio nisi mendacium factum de ecclesia et Innocencio III°; talem autem errorem in fide de sacramento sine subiecto, oportet sine veritatis fundamento fingi ex antichristi mendacio.

3. nescit *omnes MSS.* 8. preposicione C. 23. testimonium. 29. scilicet CD. 30. et AB.

CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

A 92[d] Ultima via dicit quod sacramentum altaris est qualitas: et ista, ut tetigi, habet minus inprobabilitatis quam relique; quia, cum qualitas consequitur formam, decens videtur quod sacramentum sapiencie que est forma dei patris sit vestigium forme et non materie prime, sed accidencium ac verbi divini ostensivum cuiusmodi solum est qualitas inter genera accidentis. Item, maioris constancie in rarefaccione et condensacione est qualitas quam quantitas, vel dicta agregacio accidentis: sed decet hoc sacramentum esse permansivum et activum; ideo foret congruencius qualitas quam quantitas vel agre-
B 100[b] gacio supra dicta. Qualitas | enim eadem in numero potest esse nunc minor et nunc maior, quod non potest competere quantitati. Item ex generali sermone de sacramento ipsum est invisibilis gracie visibilis forma, ut similitudinem gerat et causa existat, quod inter formas accidentales magis competeret qualitati. Et concordant testimonia sanctorum dicencium quod species, forma et similitudo panis remanet; ideo certum est, si sacramentum est accidens sine subiecto, ipsum est qualitas.

Concordando autem quantum fides permittit opiniones predictas, dico, quod inpossibile est hoc sacramentum esse formaliter qualitatem, quantitatem vel agregacionem multorum generum accidencium. Sed admittendo predicacionem secundum materiam vel subiectum, ut facit scriptura, conceditur quod hoc sacramentum est tam quantitas quam qualitas, quam eciam accidencia diversorum generum congregata. Et sic sacerdos magnus Christus factus est reconciliacio omnibus qui volunt
A 93[a] humiliter | sequi ipsum in logica: sed superbi dicentes
Jo. VI, 6 cum hereticis retrorsum abeuntibus: "Durus est hic

The opinion that the Sacrament is a quality, is the least improbable.

For I. Quality is a vestige of the *form*, and thus better than quantity.

II. Quality changes less, and is thus more able to be a subject.

III. A sacrament is a form of grace: so is quality a form.

IV. And Saints have favoured this view.

Yet it is not admissible, unless we give this quality a subject.

9. et D. 18. quantitati B. 21. quantitas B. 26. naturam B.
29. agregata D. 31. in *deest* BC. 32. abeuntes B.

sermo et quis potest eum audire?" perierunt in propriis vanitatibus et, dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt, propriis funiculis laqueati.

In one sense the Sacrament is many accidents; but they are not absolute. It is in one sense earthly substance, and in another Christ's body.

Quamvis enim sacramentum altaris sit multiplex accidens ad sensum equivocum, non tamen est sine subiecto, cum ad alium sensum subicitur formaliter cuilibet huiusmodi accidenti; et stat sentencia Augustini et philosophorum quod nullum [B.] accidens potest esse sine subiecto et per consequens ipsum sacramentum non est accidens sine subiecto, sed in natura sua terrena substancia et ad sensum alium corpus Christi, ad quod | [B 100c] omnis fidelis in mente debet attendere, pastis sensibus exiliter circa accidencia quantum oportet, et suspensa consideracione circa naturam vel quiditatem materialis substancie sacramenti.

And thinking of His Body, we eat Him spiritually.

Tota autem sollicitudo fidelium debet esse in cogitacione, in affeccione et imitacione, corpori Christi, quod sursum est intendere, et ipsum fide formata spiritualiter manducare, et specialiter secundum panis et vini significanciam in caritate fundari, quod habeant omnia in communi.

Otherwise we only eat the accidents, *sign* of Christ's body;

Aliter enim ad sui iudicium manducant corpus mortuum sacramenti, quod ostenditur in generacione signa terrena querente, et in contencione ac emulacione, accidens quod est signum corporis domini comedente.

we multiply prayers, and are yet without charity.

Multiplicantur enim oraciones, variantur religiones et onerantur fideles per humanas tradiciones; et tamen ab origine mundi non fuit caritas tepidior quam est modo.

We pray to learn to love our enemies,

Rogamus enim dari nobis disciplinam inimicos diligere, ordinamus religiosos qui hortantes ad pacem | [A 93b] doceant mundum contempnere, et instamus cordate, ut fingimus, pro libertate ecclesie;

and say we do so, but it is false.

et tamen per solucionem sathane patris mendacii novimus hec dicere, sed contrarium omnino facere. Quod cum sit falsitas veritati opposita, patet quam torve retrocedimus tamquam discoli discipuli antichristi.

The false teachers as to the Eucharist do all this.

Et hec omnia scola verbi et operis circa sacramentum eukaristie efficit vel figurat.

A concrete quality cannot be increased or diminished.

Redeundo igitur ad scolam priorem, probatur quod [C.] sacramentum altaris non sit qualitas sine subiecto. Nam nulla qualitas potest intendi vel | [B 100d] remitti secundum ultimum singulare; sed hoc sacramentum potest, ut patet ex dictis; igitur ipsum non est formaliter scilicet qualitas. Maior patet ex hoc quod ideo est motus ad

6. cuius libet B. 18. sed BC. 19. fundati *omnes MSS.* 31. fingamus B.

qualitatem ut per se terminum, quia nichil potest alterari nisi aquisierit vel perdiderit qualitatem. Et istam sentenciam noverunt qui ponunt qualitatem componi ex partibus intensivis vel continue esse novam; nam intensio vel remissio qualitatis non est nisi qualitas, cum per idem quantitas et locus non requiruntur ad hoc quod aliquid in illis generibus moveatur.

There can be no movement, unless towards a quality as an *end.*

Item, iuxta dicta de quantitate, sacramentum foret infinitum intensum, eo ipso quod intenditur, nam ita intensum est sicut potest esse; infinitum intensum potest esse: igitur etc. Minorem non negat adversarius, et maior patet ex hoc quod eadem qualitas non posset intendi, nisi vel per condensacionem vel per qualitatis aquisicionem. Primum membrum aufugiunt, cum pocius, A 93b ut inquiunt, per | condensacionem remitteretur qualitas, ut patet de caliditate, de raritate et similibus. Et si videatur qualitatem intendi, hoc est quod una noviter generatur. Similiter, si eadem qualitas sacramentalis posset intendi, posset una cum alia coextendi, et per consequens, continuata tali intencione per tempus infinitum, intensa foret talis qualitas ante finem cuiuscunque partis eiusdem temporis: quia infinite partes D. eque intense non communicantes forent coextense. Similiter omnis intensio qualitatis est qualitas, ut patet ex descripcione qualitatis; et concordant emuli. Sed sa- B 101a cramentum intensum per tempus aquiret | latitudinem intensionis; et sic infinitos gradus, quorum quilibet remanebit cum alio; igitur tota qualitas sacramentalis erit in fine infinitum intensa. Multa autem talia argumenta possunt evacuari per logicos vere ponentes substanciam subici istis accidentibus que sunt insolubilia isti vie.

The Sacrament would be not infinitely extended, but infinitely intense; for nothing could make this quality more so.

If a quality in the Sacrament could become more intense, it might be coextended with another, and so become infinite. Its intensity is a quality; which, having permanence, has another quality, and so on, till quality is infinite.

Item, cum in sacramento sunt multa genera qualitatum, nec subest racio, quare ipsum foret una qualitas, quin per idem et quelibet, videtur quod sacramentum sit omnes huiusmodi qualitates. Non enim est singula earum, sicut videtur glosam dicere de consecracione distinccione 2a, super capitulo "*Sacerdotum*"; certum quidem est quod sacramentum vel est sic qualificatum vel ipsa qualitas. Sed non est ipsa qualitas secundum glosam, cum non sit ponderositas; igitur est

The Sacrament is either its own qualities or their subject. But it is not heaviness, for instance; so there must be a subject that is heavy.

7. aliud C. 23. simpliciter AB. 24. intencio B.

St. Thomas makes quantity the subject of the other accidents: for quality cannot be qualified.

subiectum | distinctum; et hoc est evidens, Thome et A 93^d aliis dicentibus quod proprium est quantitati esse quantam, sic quod qualitas non sit qualis, quia tunc, ut inquiunt, virtus foret virtuosa, beatitudo beata, sessioque sederet et sic forent in hostia cōsecrata multa genera sacramentorum. Non enim potest poni prior qualitas, quia per idem foret quelibet qualitas prima et potissime, que continue est nova. Si igitur sacramentum sit omnes ille qualitates coniunctim, per idem iungenda est quantitas cum aliis accidentibus, ut dicit secunda opinio; et sic quodlibet argumentum quod movet contra aliquam horum trium movet eciam contra istud. Tunc enim non haberet sacramentum istud con- E. stanciam permanendi et denominaciones notorias recipiendi, ut motum, benediccionem, vel accionem, vel passionem, ut non posset calefieri, commisceri, | sanctificari, B 101^b agere, vel videri; quorum aliqua contradicunt experimento certissimo, et alia obviant racioni sacramenti, cum non sanctificatur nisi sanctitas et virtus sacramentalis inducatur: que cum sit potissima, cui omnes alie qualitates subserviunt, videtur quod illa sit potissime sacramentum vel pars eius principalis; sicut anima est pars hominis, cum sacramentum sit sensibile. Et sic ipsa non per se est sacramentum sed alie qualitates quas induit.

If the Sacrament is all those qualities, then quantity must be added too: with all its difficulties.

This view is contrary to known fact.

If the sacramental quality is called the Sacrament, it will be so only by means of the other qualities.

Multe sunt tales instancie ex quibus manuducitur fidelis diu quod sacramentum altaris sit panis sanctificatus, ut dicit Augustinus, et per consequens substancia panis, ut dicit autor de divinis | officiis capitulo 5to, A 94^a "De canone misse", ubi exponit istum quinarium: *hostiam sanctam* etc. "Per quinarium," inquit, "crucis signaculum panis et vini inprimit substancie Christo sedenti ad dextram dei patris veraciter, ut dictum est, concorporate." Sed contra dicta obicitur per hoc quod F.

The contrary opinion (that the substance remains), confirmed by Augustine and others,

is denied by the opponents, because the bread is transsubstantiated; which, this granted, could not be true.

27. fidelis unitas diu A.

1. St. Thomas says (S. Theol. 3^a Pars, qu. LXXVII, art. 2. "*Respondeo . . . etc. Unde et ipsa quantitas dimensiva secundum se habet quamdam* individuationem". But he carefully distinguishes *extensive force* from *extension*. "*Quantitas* dimensiva . . . . *non est quantitas* mathematica (ibid. *ad 4^m dicendum . . .*)" 29. The exposition of these words in *De Divinis Officiis* is quite different. 32. The sense is not clear; but if *sacerdos* be added, as subject of *inprimit*, and *quinarium* taken as a substantive, there is a meaning to the whole.

panis et vinum transsubstanciantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, ut patet primo decretalium capitulo *"Firmiter"*. Sed istud secundum famosos doctores nostros et glosam decretalium non potest salvari, nisi panis et vinum desinant esse secundum quamlibet sui partem. Hic dicitur, ut patet alibi, quod signacio extranea est petita et non fundata, quia includit oppositum in adiecto. Si enim substancia transit in substanciam, quod est transsubstanciacio, tunc oportet dare subiectum huius motus remanens, quia aliter transiret in nichilum. Ideo, ut alias dixi ex sentencia beati Ambrosii et Augustini, B 101c in | hac benedicta conversione, panis fit aliquid quod prius non fuit. Unde beatus Ysidorus in quodam sermone, post declaracionem conversionis multiplicis, sic inquit: "Sicut baptisatus ante invocacionem nominis Christi et mortuum et putridum membrum est, sed post invocacionem membrum vivum et corpus Christi est, sic substancia panis et vini ante consecracionem panis et vinum est; post consecracionem corpus Christi et sanguis Christi est." Ecce planum testimonium huius G. sancti quod substancie panis et vini sunt post consecracionem corpus Christi et sangwis. Et eadem est sentencia Ambrosii et aliorum sanctorum dicencium quod panis erit corpus Christi, licet posterius per glosas A 94b ordi | narias eorum sentencia sit retorta; ut hii dicunt, quod panis, *hoc est, accidens vel forma panis,* erit corpus Christi; illi, quod non illud *accidens* sed in illo *accidente* erit corpus Christi; et illi quod non ille *panis*, sed ex *pane* fiet corpus Christi.

Answer. This sense cannot be the right one, as it includes such contradictions. If there is a *passage* of one substance into another, *what* passes?

St. Isidore compares the Eucharistic change with that of baptism, but does the neophyte turn to nothing?

Other Saints, whose sense is improperly wrested by the gloss, say the same.

Et sic relicta sanctorum logica et scriptura vix per decennium durat logica ficta per istos apostatas; et cum tanta mania percussi sunt ut dicant, si principium secte sue et almanac suum annale sentenciant dandam sentenciam, tunc ipsa est determinacio universalis ecclesie. Unde quia non habent ab Innocencio III° vel papa alio quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, recurrunt ad comenta mendacii et glosas doctorum indiscretorum, qui per eis similes sunt seducti. Et sic, ut fabulatur de presbitero Johanne quod pransus licenciat ut tunc comedat totus mundus, sic

Remarks on the arrogance and folly of the glossators.

Unable to ground their theory on Innocent's decree, they recur to glosses.

These madmen think all their opinions are those of the Church.

30. scripture ABC. 33. almanant D.

15. Isid., t. 83, p. 1228 of Migne. Wyclif's quotation is very free. 30. Cf. Sermones, III, 77.

isti ma | niaci impudenter asserunt, quod si ipsi sic B 101[d] sentenciant, sentencia illa est decretum universalis ecclesie.

Thus the solution of the difficulty is that the bread and wine are changed into Christ's body, their substance remaining.

Et patet solucio instancie supradicte, cum argumentum concedi debeat ad hunc sensum, quod panis et vinum convertuntur in corpus Christi et sanguinem, cum ipsa aliquomodo, servata natura eorum, fiunt corpus Christi et sanguis, non sicut adversarii fingunt formam panis, vel accidens quod panem nominant, fieri corpus Christi.

If it is asked, How? let them say how a rod became a serpent, &c.

Et si musitant, quomodo panis transsubstanciatur vel convertitur in corpus Christi, cum remanet, dicant quomodo hoc competit sacramento, | A 94[c] dicant secundo quomodo essencia virge transsubstanciatur in serpentem, essencia corporis uxoris Loth transsubstanciatur in statuam salis, essencia aque fit vinum, quomodo membrum dyaboli convertitur et transsubstanciatur in membrum Christi et tamen utrobique remanet eadem essencia in numero non destructa.

Conversion, or transsubstantiation does not signify destruction but permanence; I. Naturally, by eduction of a form:

Conversio H. enim, vel transsubstanciacio, non dicit destruccionem essencie, sed eius remanenciam. Et ita est duplex conversio, prima propinqua motui naturali, quando, educta forma substanciali, alia nova in essenciam naturalem inducitur: ut patet in exemplo triplici supradicto, et iuxta philosophiam ac logicam scripture. Substancia unius modi erit substancia alterius modi, ut Joh. II° subtiliter dicitur aquam factam vinum. Jo. II, 9

as accident is to substance, so is substantial form to matter;

Sicut enim accidens contingit substancie, sic forma substancialis materialis contingit materiali essencie.

II. Supernaturally, when bread becomes Christ's body, or a sinner is converted: in both cases the subject remains the same.

Secundus modus conversionis vel transsubstanciacionis magis miraculosus est, quando dominus Jesus Christus, verus deus et verus homo, facit conversum quodammodo se ipsum: et hec est mutacio dextre | excelsi deo pro- B 102[a] pria. Et fit dupliciter: vel illabendo anime peccatoris, faciendo ipsum quodammodo ipsum Christum, vel assistendo sacramentaliter terrene substancie faciendo ipsam quodammodo corpus suum; quomodo autem hoc fit, subiacet communiter scrutinio et fidei cunctorum fidelium. Christus enim dixit panem sacramentalem esse corpus suum. Sed cavendum est, ne margarithe fidei ventilate in glosis legum hominum ecclypsentur; quia

7. fuit AB. 10. sic *pro* si *omnes MSS.* 18. substancia B. 21. motu D. 22. materialem AD. 29. motus AB. 30. periculosus ABC: *corr.* D. 31. fecit D.

A 94d secundum | Jeronimum: *Quod medicorum est, medici tractant, fabrilia fabri.*

I. Secundo, obicitur per hoc: in ambiguis sub pena mortis standum est isti determinacioni pape et universalis ecclesie; sed ipse determinat, quod substancia panis non remanet, sed quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto; igitur standum est isti decreto. Si enim in lege veteri fideles debent summo sacerdoti adeo obedire, multo magis in nova lege, quando plus debent esse obediencie filii. Sed Deuteronomii XVII° docetur: (Deut. XVII, 8—12) "Si ortum fuerit ambiguum inter iudices, referatur ad sacerdotes; si non steterit sacerdotis iudicio morte moriatur." Hic dicitur, quod illi qui preponderant istud dictum nimis cecantur, iudaisantes et intendentes destruccionem. Pro quo declarando noto primo quod dicta contencio inter iudices non fuit de fide immediate, sed de iudicio seculari, ut de accusacione vel alio simili: quia blasfemus, ut patet in eodem capitulo, debuit lapidari. Noto secundo, quod patens diversitas est inter hanc legem cerimonialem veteris testamenti et legem B 102b gracie, cum summus sacerdos debuit secundum | legem Judaycam vel divinum oraculum iudicare. In lege autem gracie est omnino oppositum, cum Christus Luc. XII° (Luc. XII, 13, 14) aufugit tale iudicium; et apostoli in causa blasfemie vel fidei scripture non habuerunt istum modum. Papa autem constituit sibi leges novellas secundum quas iudicat. Noto tercio quod quantum ad materiam fidei A 95a vel secularia iudicia, non | recurret tota ecclesia ad Romanum pontificem; tum quia est infundabile, tum eciam quia careret ut plurimum racione; magna enim pars Christianismi requireret terminacionem iudicii, antequam veniretur ad Romanum pontificem, et illuc devento, sunt multi propius qui melius deciderent tales causas: K. ideo sic iudaisantes nimis artarent Christianisnum. Sed supposito quod causa ista de eukaristia devoluta fuerit ad Romanum pontificem, patet quod hucusque per ipsum vel suos, non est decisum, ut hic assumitur.

Another objection: We must obey the Pope; now he has decided that the substance of bread does not remain.

Answer: This objection, taken from the Old Testament, is Judaical in spirit.

1st The text refers only to secular matters.

2nd We are not now under the ceremonial law, but the law of grace.

Christ refused to judge between two adversaries.

Why should the whole world recur to the Pope? It would often be long to wait for his judgment.

4. est *deest* BCD. 14. necantur B; *ib.* intelligentes B. 22. iudaicum D. 23. XXII° ACD. 24. tale C. 35. fuit B.

1. I have left this quotation as it stands, not having been able to trace it to St. Jerome. Of course it is perverted from Horace, Ep. l. II, 1, 115—6. . . . . Quod medicorum est Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri.

Supposing that this matter were laid before the Pope, he can judge only according to the Bible or by revelation.

Unde posito per impossibile, quod tota ista materia sit posita in suo iudicio, patet quod ipse non habet potestatem decidendi unum aliud, nisi ut ex scriptura sacra vel revelacione notoria sibi fuerit intimatum; ad quorum utrumque ex multis diebus inter multos episcopos est ineptus.

The faithful need fear nothing in this point, and may await a general council.

Innocent would have done better to let the matter alone.

Ideo quantum ad eukaristiam, debet fidelis in fide scripture quiescere et ortis aliis questionibus vel omnino pausando ipsas abicere vel in generali concilio ecclesie responsum spiritus sancti expetere. Unde consonum foret dictum Innocencium III° multas leges quas condidit et specialiter multa dicta sua de eukaristia | omisisse; B 102c nichil enim diffinit ex racione vel fide scripture, sed dicitur multa posuisse tanquam legifer Christo contrarius, ut patet in lege "*Omnis utriusque sexus*", cum sibi similibus, in qua nichil auctoritatis vel racionis miscetur, sed zizania seminatur ad dissensionem et illibertatem ecclesie; ut patet ex fructibus huius legis. Et sic in materia de sacramento eukaristie | , antequam A 95b ipse posuit inpossibiliter accidencia esse sine subiecto, cum aliis sibi ambiguis, bene stetit ecclesia, colendo hoc sacramentum ut panem deiferum, et quodammodo corpus Christi. Et ex post decrevit continue ydolatrarum devocio et multiplicabantur hereses circa materiam de quidditate hostie, sic quod maior pars sibi intendencium in fide fluctuat. Ideo non dubium melius fuisset ipsum L. declarasse legem scripture de eukaristia et legem benedictam Nicolai II[i] De consecracione distinccione 2ª. "*Ego Berengarius*"; tunc enim non horruisset ecclesia occidua de ista heresi seminata, quod sacramentum altaris est panis, sed in natura inperfeccior pane ratonis; et sacramentum calicis est vinum, sed in natura sua inperfeccius quam venenum; multi namque fideles asserunt, quod si scirent hoc esse verum, nunquam celebrarent vel acciperent sacramentum. Ideo ad nichil videtur valere hec infundabilis heresis seminata, nisi ad negandum sensum et principium per se notum, ac difficultandum ecclesiam que prius fuit libera circa inpossibilia que secuntur. Sic enim terrentur layci, quod mors sit quidam invidus | vadens villatim cum lancea, B 102d

Before he meddled, the Host was adored as God-bearing bread. After, many heresies arose, and much idolatry.

Better to have kept to Pope Nicolas' definition. Horrible heresy: the sacramental bread and wine are in their nature of less worth than rats' food and poison.

These are fictions like that of Death or Fever personified.

2. posita *deest* B. 28. 2ª *deest* C. 30. accidua D. 37. ac ad CD.

15. Decr. Greg. l. V, tit. 38, c. 12.

cuius iectus nullus potest aufugere: sicut febris est unum per se existens, quod infirmos exagitat; sicut poterit corpus inanimatum aut mortuum eciam ipsum accidens infirmare. Sed procul a fidelibus tales insanie!

A 95ᶜ Nec est putandum quod | universalis ecclesia militans sit decepta hac heresi, sicut nunc ecclesia nostra occidua, in qua sunt multi maniaci; cum deus reliquit sibi milia qui non curvaverunt genua sua ydolatre ad sacramentum accidencium per se existencium. Et patet nuditas dicencium quod opinio sua sit determinacio M. universalis ecclesie; ad quod solum adducunt illud primi decretalium capitulo *"firmiter"* quod panis et vinum transsubstanciantur in corpus Christi et sanguinem; et sic ex cautela dyaboli venenum heresis sub novello nomine transsubstanciacionis introducitur. Sed oportet fidelem, ut dictum est, per transsubstanciacionem novellam ecclesiam intelligere conversionem, ut loquitur beatus Ambrosius et alii sancti de millenario Christi.

All are not deceived however; thousands have not bowed the knee before Baal. To say that the opinion of a sect is the Church's decision is barefaced impudence.

Nec est recurrendum in diffinicione fidei ad Romanum pontificem, nisi notorie deus dederit sibi supereminentem noticiam scripture; sed habemus supersubstancialem pontificem dominum Jesum Christum, cuius instinctibus et testimonio debemus intendere et non super Romanum pontificem omnes causas ecclesie cumulare; quia tunc foret indubie non Christi vicarius, sed integer Antichristus, cum auferret a temporalibus dominis suum seculare dominium et civilibus iudicibus sentenciam iuris sui; cum Magog sentenciat quod in B 103ª omnibus iudiciis ubi est orta contencio | stabitur finaliter sub pena mortis suo decreto; quo dato conquireret in brevibus cuncta regna et iudicans in illo quod nescit, destrueret papam alium; et econverso. Et patet A 95ᵈ locus a simili | de obediendo Romano pontifici, quia sic obediendum fuit summo sacerdoti in lege veteri, claudicat in duobus: primo, quia non fundatur in scriptura quod quicunque Romanus pontifex sit caput universalis ecclesie militantis, sicut fundatur de summo sacerdocio Aaron et sui seminis; secundo, quia non taxatur in scriptura pena obviancium decretis papalibus; sed Christus, Petrus et alii paciendo in novo testamento docuerunt contrarium fieri pro tempore legis nove.

In matters of faith, the Roman Pontiff should not be consulted, unless he has studied Scripture deeply. Christ is our Supreme Pontiff whom if we set aside for the Pope, we make of the latter an Antichrist.

The analogy with the Jewish Priesthood, faulty:

1st Not every Roman Pontiff is head of the Church, like Aaron and his successors. 2nd Scripture assigns no penalty to those who do not obey his decrees.

3. impium D. 10, 11. per se — dicencium *deest* C.

3rd *Objection*: The possibility of absolute accidents, upheld for more than 100 years, should not be denied. *Answer*: Augustine expressly denies it.

The gloss says that his words mean *natural* possibility; but he surely meant what he said, and no less.

If you tamper with his words, we retaliate.

You make him say: Accidents must have a subject, *i. e. naturally*; we make the Pope say: 'Accidents can do without a subject, *i. e. a subject which is actually in our thought*.

N. Sed tercio obicitur per hoc quod remanencia accidencium sine substrata substancia est possibilis, ut patet per Innocencium III[m] capitulo "*Cum Marthe*" et consona ac testificata per centum annos et amplius verificari in sacramento altaris; igitur hoc non est simpliciter negandum. Hic dicitur, ut sepe alias, quod falsum assumitur, cum Augustinus cum philosophis sepe dicit ut per se notum, quod accidens non possit esse sine subiecto; ideo mirificare hoc sacramentum cum tanto mendacio et sine racione foret in deum blasfemare. Et quantum ad glosam Augustini qua dicitur ipsum intelligere hoc non posse fieri per naturam, patet quod nimis leviter glosant, cum tam sanctus et tam subtilis logicus habens in ita recenti memoria totam veritatem credendam de eukaristia in dicto suo illud exciperet, cum amplissime loquitur de divina potencia et generaliter vocat sacramentum panem, aut | corpus Christi et nullibi accidens. (B 103b) Ideo ut sepe dixi, si isti ita perfunctorie | glosant Augustinum, (A 96a) licet nobis pertinencius glosare Innocencium et alia dicta doctorum que videntur sonare accidens in sacramento esse sine subiecto; hoc est quod sit sine subiecto in actuali consideracione fidelium, quo ad suam quidditatem specificatam; quia constat, quod alius sensus fictus non est pertinens fidei. Ideo dicit logicus deridendo quod sicut ipsi glosant Augustinum, quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto naturaliter, sic illi glosantur quod accidens potest esse sine subiecto impossibiliter, si deus voluerit et non possibiliter; nec est color amplior in fundacione glose sue quam in nostra.

100 years are nothing, if we think of the ages before the birth of this theory.

We need take no account of these erring and self-contradicting doctors,

O. Et quantum ad doctores qui videntur testificari istam sentenciam centum annis et amplius, patet quod nimis levis est evidencia, cum per tantum tempus tante fuerunt maiores hereses de symonia, apostasia et blasfemia. Quid igitur nobis, si illi doctores cum sectis suis tam diu erraverant? Nec oportet sollicitari in glosis eorum, cum ipsi nimis sinistre glosant Augustinum cum aliis sanctis in ista materia. Sed quia contradicunt sibi ipsis, nec adducunt raciones vel scripturam pro sua sentencia, testatur, quod eorum testificacio est inepta. Nec est diffiniendum quod aliquis eorum moriebatur in

9. verificare ABD. 20. qui AD. 23. specificatam *struck out;* specificam A. 27, 28. naturaliter — subiecto *deest* BCD. 28, 29. si — possibiliter *deest* D. 38. quod BCD.

hac heresi, nisi forte aput illum, cui hoc fuerit revelatum. Unum tamen scio, quod isti doctores cum sectis suis meruerunt racione erroris sui in religione Christiana plus seduci. Ideo catholicus adduceret raciones eorum B 103c et taceret sua testimonia, cum nimirum sint | inepta.

nor can we know whether they died in their heresy.

A 96b Sed supposito | per impossibile Innocencium IIIm decrevisse quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto; manifestum est quod nec sibi credendum esset in isto, cum contrarius sanctis doctoribus fingeret hoc sine fundamento. Nec ex hoc convincitur error universalis ecclesie, cum maniaci blaterant quod non sit ecclesia, nisi quam ipsi rexerint; sicut filie Loth crediderant non superesse hominem superstitem preter ipsum. Nam eo ipso quo hoc finxerint, forent nimis alieni a sancta ecclesia; nec est credibile, quod ipsi tam diu P. in isto erraverant, cum maiores errores per tantum temporis comiserunt. Ideo quod spiritus sanctus assistat eis protegens ne errent in fide scripture, est leve dictum et infundabile, cum omne mortale habeant hunc errorem diucius. Igitur errarunt in materia de civili dominio clericis cumulato. Ideo non mirum si, correspondenter ad istud accidens quod est de adiacencia temporalium, errent profundius in alio accidente: et ita generaliter quicquid decreverint extra fidem scripture, est eo suspeccius de falsitate. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, foret ipsis utile tenere se in suius limitibus, ne constituant huiusmodi infundabiles novitates, quia per hoc difficultant et illibertant ecclesiam, nec inducunt utilitatem aliam.

Returning to Innocent's decree, Wyclif denies its authority.

These doctors, like Lot's daughters, fancy that they are alone in the world.

I. No proof that the Holy Spirit assists them.

II. Proof that He does not: they have erred as to civil lordship; they may err yet more in this question.

Let them keep within bounds.

Quod si fingunt mirabilitatem eukaristie, dicant consonancius quod remanet panis substancia, et omnia illa accidencia sine eius informacione; vel dicant (ut A 96c B 103d videtur | Wymundum dicere) quod non | est fraccio vel

If they want a miracle in the Eucharist, they may take our opinion, or that of Guitmundus who makes all an illusion.

4. catholicis AB. 19. habeant *deest* BCD.

19. *Habeant* makes no sense and is not in the other MSS. I have left it however, as there is nothing to gain by striking it out. It would seem there is a lacuna here, without which *igitur* in the next sentence can hardly be accounted for. 31. This is Wyclif's doctrine, which he states to be even more wonderful than the others; for he admits the double presence of Christ and bread. As will be seen further, though Christ is there figuratively, He is there really also. 32. Guitmundus, in his zeal against Berengarius, goes so far as to deny that the Host can be touched by mice, digested, &c., saying that it is an illusion, and that Christ's body is taken away by angels. See Migne, t. 149, p. 1448, 1449.

pudenda mocio eukaristie, sed sensus illusio per spiritum in medio. Et quando videtur sacramentum comburi vel digeri, insensibili celeritate defertur in celum per angelos, et aliud corpus, ut hostia non consecrata, per angelos bonos — vel malos? — insensibiliter ministratur. Nec possunt pocius fundare suam sentenciam vel reprobare iam fictam, quam infinitas alias simulatas. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, omnes tales ficticie, quia sunt in scriptura infundabiles, fluctuant in incerto. Et patet quod dyabolus instigat ad hanc heresim ex superba manifestacione potestatis sue super suos discipulos, ut corpus Christi irreverenter concedatur esse unum nichil vel abiectissima creatura; et secundo, ut frustra super mendaci fantasia difficultetur ecclesia, que secundum ordinacionem Christi secundum scolam levem debet esse libera: sed dominus preclusit scole dyaboli racionis testimonium et scripture; ymo, fecit quod tam sensus quam racio, quam legis testificacio, foret contraria huic vie; et tercio fecit discipulos scole dyaboli in isto sibimet repugnare. Nam, ut notant quidam, antequam secte iste suborte sunt non errabatur sic de hostie quidditate.

Et cum hoc presagio duro difficultati sunt status ecclesie, ut iam dicitur pape adiacere civiliter tantum de Romano imperio, quantum sufficeret | (A 96d) multis regnis; et super hoc inordinate spoliat multas ecclesias. Inordinate dico, quia apostatice | (B 104a) vendicat ista ex universalitate sui dominii, et tum ubi secundum istum titulum caperet ubi forent bona sua magis vacancia, rapit de pauperibus, quia ipsos promovet, ubi est patencior symonia. Et sic est de rapinis sacrilegis inferiorum membrorum dyaboli; nam magister eorum suggerit quod status eorum omnino exigit, quod oportet eis tot temporalia adiacere: et indubie de tanto deficit in eis Christi officium, et docentur de tanto secundum scolam dyaboli defendere antichristum: et illud docma nimis perturbat ecclesiam. Sicut enim foret nimis hereticum defendere, quod corpus Christi proprium sit accidens sine subiecto, sic foret modo hereticum defendere, quod Christi vicarius, caput ecclesie et corpus Christi misticum foret in officio civilis adiacencie temporalium. Sicut enim omne accidens oportet habere maioris permanencie substratum subiectum, sic oportet omne membrum

V. g., when the Sacrament seems to be burnt, angels put a wafer instead of Christ's body.

The Devil invented this theory to degrade Christ's body,

and bring difficulties on the Church.

But God has set reason and Scripture against him, and his own disciples against each other.

Another invention of Hell: the Pope's temporal power.

An inordinate pretension.

Thence comes the sacrilegious rapine of lesser officials, who also fancy that their position requires temporalities.

This heresy resembles that of the accidents; Christ's members require a better support than the accidents of riches.

37, 38. quod — defendere quod *deest* BCD.

Christi pro adiacencia temporalium habere causaliter precedens dignius Christi officium.

R. Unde notari debet prepositis, cum quam parcis temporalibus apostoli solemniter executi sunt ecclesiasticum ministerium, et secundum formam eorum debent diminuere in temporalibus et in profectibus spiritualibus adaugere; scientes indubie quod scola antichristi et principis huius mundi est omnino contraria. In cuius signum illaqueat suos cum perplexitatibus temporalium A 97ᵃ et subtrahens | a cultu divino, sicut ducit eos ad cruciatum langwidum infinitum, sic propinat eis poculum infundabile cupiditatis temporalium insaciabiliter sitibundum.

Prelates should remember the example of the apostles, and think how contrary the school of Antichrist is to that: The Devil catches them by temporal things and crusades.

Questiones autem infinite sunt de quidditate eukaristie, si sit accidens sine subiecto; sed videtur michi potissime quod foret locus aut vacuum, tempus vel ewum. Nam B 104ᵇ si aliquod accidens | foret sine subiecto, potissime foret locus, quia ille videtur naturaliter presupponi ad materialem substanciam; et cum potissime subiectaretur in illa, videtur quod pro illo gradu prioritatis nature foret sine subiecto, sicud Augustinus dicit primam materiam esse informem; sed hec evidencia est vacua a racione, cum iste mundus sensibilis presupponitur ad locum, ut eius subiectum: quod si foret per impossibile alius mundus, foret alius locus; nec pars mundi posset annichilari, servato residuo in loco suo. Cum autem, secundum Aristotelem, locus est ultimum corporis continentis inmobile primum; sacramentum autem non est ultimum corporis continentis, sed pocius foret unum vacuum in ultimo corporis continentis, nec aliqua eius pars haberet locum sibi adequatum; manifeste videtur quod non sit locus, nec quelibet pars sacramenti. Si non est pars corporis, non habet ultimum corporis, quod sit locus. Et sic si ad omnem punctum sui intrinsecum non foret locus, sacramentum secundum se totum nec esset locus nec

Space or time would be absolute accidents, if any could be so.

For space seems to precede, not follow, material substance.

Still place is impossible without the world, its subject.

Place, according to Aristotle, is the limit of the containing *body*; if the sacrament is not a body, place cannot be predicated of it.

So it would be nowhere.

10. ducit *deest* B. 12. capitis AB; cupitis CD. 16. ewangelium B; *corr.* A. 18. presupposicione AB. 30. in ultimi ACD; ultimum B. 31. alia BCD; *corr.* A.

11. These three words serve to mark very exactly the date at which this work was written. The Crusade in Flanders had not yet come to its disastrous end, but was very near it. See *Introduction.* 21. Aug. Conf. l. XII, c. VII, VIII. Migne, t. 32, p. 828, 829. 27. Arist. ed. Didot, t. II, p. 290, l. 39.

Besides, place is immovable; not so the Host.

locatum; non enim est per eukaristiam materia informis, nec elementum, nec aliqua extensa substancia. Et S. quantum ad racionem immo | bilis, [A 97b] patet quod illud sacramentum moveri potest quadruplici motu locali, et multipliciter alterari. Ideo, vel omne locatum est locus, vel eukaristia non est locus.

It ought to be time, for time, without subject, depends neither on the world nor on any part of it. And any other accident has been proved impossible.

Quod autem sit tempus vel ewum videtur ex hoc quod, ut dicitur, est quantitas successiva, que non est nisi tempus; et iterum tempus videtur non dependere a subiecto, quia nec a mundo nec a parte eius, cum ut fingitur, deus potest in ista hora sepe destruere istum | [B 104c] mundum, sicut potest servare totum genus substancie destructo quocunque accidente preter ewum; cum quo posito de possibili quod habeamus sacramentum altaris, relinquitur eis ponere quod sit ewum: quod est manifeste falsum, cum nec tempus nec ewum sit corporaliter visibile nec palpabile, cuiusmodi est indubie sacramentum altaris.

But time is not visible nor tangible; the Host is both.

Let us therefore leave this heresy, and cleave to the old faith.

Ideo relicta hac ficta heresi, quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto, teneamus antiquam fidem quod sacramentum sit naturaliter terrena substancia et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Ad quod, ut sacerdotes et alii simplices habeant plus parate evidenciam, sic arguo: Istis mille annis et amplius fuit hostia oblata in missa *terrena substancia*, ut patet in secreta medie misse diei natalis domini et secreta ferie 4e quatuor temporum in septembri. Sed eadem oblata fuit consecranda et facienda corpus Christi ac sacramentum altaris; ut patet in canone misse, inmediate ante verba consecracionis, ubi rite orat ecclesia quod hec oblacio | [A 97c] "fiat corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi": igitur conclusio vera. Nec valet infamis ficticia qua primo dicitur quod hoc accidens quod est sine subiecto sit terrena substancia, quia coloracius diceretur, quod quodlibet corpus sensibile sit accidens sine subiecto, cum deus tunc plus compendiose et miraculose constitueret mundi fabricam. Et quantum ad illud Genes. primo: "In principio deus creavit celum et terram" cum omnibus eis similibus que sonant substanciam, diceret hec glosa blasfema quod intelligit per ista | [B 104d] nomina accidens sine subiecto. Et eodem modo irridetur secunda blasfemia, qua dicitur quod hostia oblata, que

Argument in its favour for the simple. For 1000 years a terrestrial substance was offered in the Mass. And this substance was made Christ's body.

Now we cannot possibly call an absolute accident a terrestrial substance.

It would be as well to gloss Genesis, and call Heaven and Earth an absolute accident.

7. ewangelium B. 15. in eis B.

est terrena substancia, non potest expectare consecracionem, sed desinit esse in consecracione secundum quamlibet sui partem; quia frustra et stulte oraret ecclesia, ut illa substancia fieret corpus Christi. Quia non est supponenda in sanctis doctoribus tanta logice ignorancia, ut dicant vel deum vel sacerdotem facere aliquid corpus Christi, quod non potest esse illud corpus, nec pro illo tempore erit quidquam. Et hec racio quietaret fideles.

Nor is it true that this substance fails at the words of consecration; for why should the Church pray for *it* to become Christ's body?

9. Here is writen in Bohemian on the MS. marked C: Opraw tho mnysku (i. e. Improve upon that, monk!).

CAPITULUM QUATUORDECIMUM.

In presence of evasions, wresting of testimonies, and bravadoes as to the strength of the opposite arguments, Wyclif reasons thus:

Sed ulterius, quia maior pars sociorum claudicat in dicendo quid sit sacramentum altaris, nec adducunt testimonia valida, vel probant, quod aliquod sit accidens sine subiecto, sed examinant testes particulatim, nunc de illis que sunt per se nota fidelibus, nunc de dubitacione de rebus citra fidem assertis, et nunc de aliis sinistre conceptis; glorianturque in argumentis, quod volunt unicuique satisfacere pro sua sentencia: ideo, ut materia | fidei sit nocior, arguo sic pro parte veritatis A 97[a] fidei. Omne quod est panis sacramentalis post eius consecracionem fuit ille panis ante consecracionem; sed solum corpus Christi est ille panis sacramentalis post eius consecracionem: igitur idem corpus Christi fuit ille panis ante eius consecracionem. Consequens improbabitur et consequencia supponitur; pro noticia vero quid nominis suppono, quod per panem sacramentalem intelligatur illud sensibile quod sacerdos post consecracionem tractat in manibus et videtur a fidelibus oculo corporali. Sic enim vocatur hoc sacramentum ab ecclesia et | a sanctis doctoribus panis sanctus. Secundo, suppono B 105[a] quod omnis huiusmodi panis sacramentalis habuit esse panis eciam temporaliter prius quam ille panis fuit consecratus; istud conceditur concorditer, tam ab illis qui concedunt panem illum esse accidens sine subiecto, quam ecclesia ab illis qui concedunt panem illum esse terrenam substanciam. Nam eque fuit panis ante consecracionem sui sicut post. Ideo dicit Ambrosius in De sacramentis," et ponitur in De consecracione 2[a], capitulo,

What the sacramental bread is after, it was before consecration.

By 'sacramental bread' we mean that which the priest is seen to hold after the consecration. And this had certainly the nature of bread before consecration, as much as after.

So the *same* "hoc" which is after, was natural bread before.

1. capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 6. non B, *corr.* A. 7. de rebus *deest omnes MSS.; ib.* asseritis BCD. 10. sit *deest* D. 12—14. sed — consecracionem *deest* BCD. 19. oculo *deest* B. 25, 26. accidens — esse *deest* BCD. 29. de consecratione distinctione CD.

26. *Ecclesia*, perhaps a mistake for eciam. As it stands, it has no sense. 28. Decr. Grat, 3[a] Pars, Dist. II, c. 55.

Panis est in altari: "Quod," inquit, "erat panis ante consecracionem iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem"; et loquitur de substancia panis indubie. Et prima pars antecedentis probatur tripliciter. Primo sic: Solum "hoc", demonstrando essenciam illius sacramenti, est panis sacramentalis, ut hic supponitur; et hoc idem fuit ille panis ante dictam consecracionem; igitur maior vera.

Ambrose says: what was bread before, is Christ's body after.

B. Similiter, iuxta opinantes contrarie, eadem res in numero posset una vice esse unica res et alia vice res A 98a quecunque differentes in specie, non ut partes eius quantitative aut qualitative, sed sicut complete sint singule earundem; sed hoc est impossibile: igitur impossibile est talem plurificacionem esse. Similiter, si hoc sacramentum per consecracionem fit et sic corpus Christi, tunc in corpore Christi subiectatur quodlibet istorum accidencium, quia in hoc sacramento et ipsum est corpus Christi; et per consequens nullum istorum accidencium est sine subiecto, quia non est sine corpore Christi quod subiectat eorum singulum, cum quodlibet eorum sit in corpore Christi, non ut pars eius, sed ut forma sibi accidentalis; cum idem corpus Christi potest remanere idem sacramentum, quocunque tali accidente remisso vel perdito. Et patet maior argumenti principalis; minor autem secundum exposiciones communes B 105b duo implicat, scilicet quod corpus Christi sit ille panis post consecracionem et quod nichil aliud quam corpus Christi sit ille panis post consecracionem. Sed primam partem concedit maior pars doctorum, non solum quia timent communitatem de inpeticione heresis, propter quam forent racionabiliter destruendi, verum quia fides scripture cum sanctis doctoribus confirmat illud concorditer; nam Veritas dicit panem esse corpus suum: beatus Ignacius dicit sacramentum esse corpus Christi, ut recitat Lincolniensis super ecclesiastica ierarchia capitulo 30. Et idem dicit Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium, et alii sancti concorditer. Sed et socii mei multiplicant ad hoc testimonia, quod concedunt quo C. ad secundam partem exclusive. Videtur quod sequitur:

It is impossible for the same individual thing to be one at one time and anything else at another.

These accidents, if Christ's body is present, are not without a subject.

If so, the body of Christ, being the substance to which the accidents of bread belong, is bread.

All doctors admit that Christ's body is the Sacramental bread.

12. sit ACD. 15. sic *pro* sit AB. 16. iam *pro* in CD. 27, 28. et — consecracionem *deest* BCD. 32. confirmant AB.

34. Ignatius, t. 5, p. 699, of Migne *(series graeca)*. 37. Aug. Ep. ad Bonifacium, Migne, t. 33, p. 364.

It seems to follow that it is nothing else.

The bread becomes Christ's body; so nothing else remains.

It is impossible to have two separate bodies which are yet only one.

panis ille nichil est nisi unum, sic quod non multorum distinctorum in genere singulum et per consequens panis sacramentalis, cum sit corpus Christi, videtur quod non sit aliquid aliud. Similiter | [A 98b] si aliud quam corpus Christi sit ille panis sacramentalis, potissime foret natura eiusdem panis; sed ipsa est corpus Christi, sicut et ille panis: igitur ipsum non est aliud quam corpus Christi. Similiter tunc esset possibile idem corpus in numero esse univoce duo corpora non communicancia, et per consequens reciperet secundum illa predicaciones quantumcunque contrarias; quod negant doctores de sacramento altaris, ut autor De divinis officiis negat quod sacramentum est duo corpora, sed unum tantum. Alii autem negant quod est duo panes, sed unus tantum; et per idem corpus Christi foret infiniti panes quantumcunque differentes, et singulus eorum, et tamen apostolus dicit 1ª Cor. 10: "Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus." [I. Cor. X, 17]

These reasons seem to be against my position.

But I say that Christ's body is present in figure;

whereas my adversaries say that it is present in substance.

Sed replicatur per hoc quod multe istarum racionum | [B 105c] videntur eque procedere contra fidem quam ego teneo; [D.] meum igitur est respondere ad illa. Sed nimis leviter replicatur; nam ego pono equivocacionem secundum quam solum possunt solvi raciones predicte. Et illam equivocacionem abhorrent adversarii tanquam hereticam, ut ego dico quod panis ille est corpus Christi, non ydemptice, secundum suam substanciam vel naturam, sed tropice secundum excellenciam cuiusdam figure sacramentalis. Adversarii autem dicunt quod sacramentum istud est in natura sua corpus Christi, subducta figura. Ideo cum non contentantur de isto et responsione sequenti, illis remanet alia solucio declarativa, quomodo illud abiectum accidens sit tam venerabile | [A 98c] corpus Christi, non panis triticeus, vel corpus Christi per verba sacramentalia superfusa; quia talem panem Christus accepit in manibus et de illo dixit: "hoc est corpus meum", ut dicit Ambrosius, et nunquam de monstruoso accidente quod fingitur; illum autem panem dicit scriptura non esse naturaliter vel substancialiter, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi.

They deny that bread can figure Christ's body, but how can an accident?

According to Scripture, what Christ pointed to (*hoc*) was Christ's body; now, Christ pointed to natural bread.

Item nichil est fingendum in articulis fidei sine auctoritate scripture; sed articulus fidei est quod demonstratum a Christo in tali proposicione sacramentali:

33. nam *pro* non *omnes MSS.*

"Hoc est corpus meum," sit corpus Christi; igitur, non est fingendum in tali proposicione sacramentali aliquid demonstratum, nisi ex auctoritate scripture. Sed non patet ex auctoritate scripture quod demonstratum sit accidens sine subiecto, et sic corpus Christi: igitur non est ponendum in hoc articulo fidei; maior patet ex hoc, quod aliter posset fingi nova fides totaliter
B 105d et antiqua penitus aboleri; et minor | patet ex hoc quod Christus sic dicit ad edificacionem fidei ecclesie; et concordant doctores, tam veteres quam novelli. Ulterius patet negativa assumpta ex hoc, quod nullibi in scriptura docetur, nec testantur sancti doctores, quod demonstratur pronomine accidens sine subiecto.
E. Ex quo videtur quod non est intencionis fidei dicere quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Si enim illud sacramentum, virtute verborum sacramentalium, sit factum corpus Christi, plus verisimile foret, quod illud pro nomine demonstretur. Et inconveniens videtur quod sacerdos faciat accidens huiusmodi deum suum, quia non posset hoc nisi haberet auctoritatem a Christo; et per consequens ista auctoritas innotescenda est ecclesie, ne blasfemet. Sicut igitur fingitur tale accidens esse sine subiecto, sic fingitur quod Christus dedit potestatem faciendi tale accidens corpus suum; et hoc sine fundamento. Non enim sonat in pietatem vel religionem, quod tale accidens sit corpus Christi, quia ut patet in materia De incarnacione, ipsum corpus est Christus, et sic deus; aliter enim Christus non iacuisset in sepulchro, nec descendisset ad inferos, ymo ut loquar populo, aliter nulla persona videret deum suum, nec ipsum manducaret in eukaristia; magnum igitur testimonium fidelis requireret antequam crederet tam abiectam rem esse deum, ne sit infideli deterior, cum ydolatre plus honorificant deos suos. Et probabiliter creditur quod Christus non potuit esse alia natura quam racionalis, que sit particeps sue beatitudinis,
B 106a quia aliter deus | foret inperfeccior homine. Omnes igitur fideles insurgerent potencia et virtute concorditer in quoscunque qui facerent tale dedecus corpori Jesu Christi.

F. Sed obicitur contra me idem inconveniens; nam 'secundum me panis inanimatus inperfeccior serpente fit

An accident is not what is pointed to, but the underlying substance.

All is fiction in the contrary theory, to the very possibility of an absolute accident.

It is impious to say that Christ's body is an accident; for then it would be merely a vain appearance.

Retort: I am as impious, saying that bread is Christ's body;

11. asserta (? A. 33. deum suum CD. 34. ydolatrie D.

27. Wyclif, *De Benedicta Incarnacione*, c. III and IV especially.

a God more imperfect than a plant. *Answer*: it is Christ only in sign, as a painting.

sacramentaliter corpus Christi et per consequens sacerdos celebrando facit sibi deum abiecciorem planta: quod foret inconveniens | nisi pictor fingeret ymaginem [A 99a] quam fabricat esse deum. Hic dicitur, quod adversarii multipliciter exuberant in inconvenienciis; quia ego dico quod panis infinitum perfeccior secundum suam naturam quam venenum sit illud sacramentum et quodammodo corpus Christi. Ipsi autem dicunt quod res infinitum inperfeccior quam venenum sit illud sacramentum, et sic ydemptice corpus Christi, cum sit corpus Christi in natura, ut inquiunt. Conceditur ergo

Bread, in its nature less perfect, is as a sacrament infinitely more so than a plant. It is God *sacramentally*. Thus the priest does not produce Christ's natural, but His sacramental *esse*.

quod panis consecratus est in natura sua inperfeccior planta, et tamen est infinitum perfeccius sacramentaliter quam planta, cum sit corpus Christi taliter: et sic deus. Et patet quod non sequitur aliquem fidelem facere sibi deum abiecciorem planta. Unde difficultas communis est utrum sacerdos celebrans facit corpus Christi; et videtur michi quod non, sed facit substanciam quam consecrat esse quodammodo corpus Christi et sanguinem. Sed quia hoc fit miraculose per verba domini, et sacerdos solum ministratorie concurrit, ideo dicitur solum conficere. Sunt tamen quedam dicta sanctorum et raciones sophistice, que videntur concludere corpus Christi fieri per verba sacramentalia. | [B 106b]

The expressions used by Saints should be understood of the miraculous sacramental *esse* produced.

Sed quantum ad dicta sanctorum, dicitur quod intelligunt [G.] substanciam consecratam secundum racionem qua ipsa est corpus Christi, esse corpus Christi et confici a sacerdote, non secundum racionem qua absolute est corpus Christi, cum ipsum sit perpetuum et iterum infactibile; sed factum cadit super veritate miraculi, scilicet quod panis sanctificatus est | corpus Christi; [A 99b] hoc enim potest dici sacerdotem facere, sicut absolvit, dat spiritum sanctum et facit alia officia spiritualia sacerdotis.

As for the reasons to the contrary: 1st It does not follow that on breaking or burning the Host, Christ's body is thus treated; so even if the priest made the bread, he would not make Christ's body.

Raciones autem sunt multe; ut quidam replicant, si sacerdos facit hoc sacramentum, et hoc sacramentum est corpus Christi, tunc ipse facit corpus Christi. Et pro antecedente ponitur quod sacerdos celebrans prius fecerit panem quem conficit et post det sibi esse sacramentale. Sed ad istud dicitur quod sicut non sequitur: sacerdos videt oculo corporali hanc hostiam consecratam, frangit ipsam tractando manibus

6. suam *deest* BCD. 10. sic ydemptice *pro* quodammodo C; *corr.* A; sic non ydemptice B; sic sacramentaliter D. 22. deficere B. 27. conficitur B. 31. Christi *deest* CD.

et comburit, igitur sic alterat corpus Christi; ita non sequitur in proposito, licet sacerdos faciat hoc sacramentum faccione duplici, et ipsum est ad sensum equivocum corpus Christi, quod faciat propterea corpus Christi. Quando enim equivocatur in medio termino, deficit paralogismus.

H. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod est dare faccionem et transmutacionem realem quod Christus et sacerdos conficiunt in complecione istius sacramenti. Sed non est fingendus terminus ad quem, nisi fuerit corpus Christi: igitur corpus Christi pertinenter terminat istam faccionem mirabilem; quod non foret nisi quodammodo ipsum fieret. Nam quod ipsum sacramentum B 106[c] est corpus Christi | vel nichil est vel respectus. Hic dicitur quod transsubstanciacio dicitur equivoce mutacio, in comparacione ad mutaciones alias naturales. Unde conceditur quod deus et sacerdos suus conficiunt hoc sacramentum et faciunt ipsum esse corpus Christi non ydemptice, | sed tropice; sed non faciunt ipsum corpus, et faccio terminatur ad hoc esse corpus Christi, quod est respectivum et valde salubre fidelibus.

2nd Nor, because God and the priest work together in the Sacrament, is Christ's body made. Transsubstantiation is only improperly called a change. The new *esse* is but a new relation.

Sed tercio obicitur per hoc quod corpus Christi habet in sacramento esse tam reale, quod ipsum posset sic ibi esse cum hoc quod non esset alibi, quod non foret nisi ibi generaretur. Sic enim dicit apostolus: "In Christo Jesu ego vos genui"; corpus ergo Christi quod habet ibi esse tale spirituale sine hoc quod descendat e celo ad illum locum, oportet ibi fieri. Hic dicitur quod assumptum est impossibile; sicut enim similitudo non est sine illo cuius est similitudo; sic esse sacramentale, quod habet corpus Christi in hostia, I. non potest esse sine esse dimensionali quod habet in I. Cor. celo. Et quantum ad dictum apostoli II[a] Cor. IV, patet IV, 15 quod est necessarium, cum apostolus iniecit in eis semen verbi dei et plantavit eos in orto ecclesie, sed deus illapsus per graciam incrementum dedit; et sic habuerunt per apostolum quoddam esse spirituale in quo sunt geniti per graciam viri qui est sponsus ecclesie; non tamen intelligi debet gracia, forma que posset per se esse sine subiecto, cum sit, creaturam racionalem esse gratam deo, non sicut Pelagius grosse conceperat quod B 106[d] homo potest salvari sine creata gracia informante. |

3rd We cannot suppose that the reality of Christ's *esse* is such that if nowhere else, He would be in the Sacrament, for then He would be there, not as He is in the souls of His faithful — i. e. spiritually — but in all His dimensions:

31. Christi *deest* D.

Nec oportet corpus Christi descendere de celo usque ad locum hostie; quia, ut patet ex dictis alibi, hereticum foret pertinaciter concedere, quod inpossibile sit | ali- A 99[d] quid esse alicubi, ubi prius non fuit, nisi vel moveatur illuc, vel aliud convertatur in ipsum; corpus igitur Christi quiescit in celo, nec movetur localiter nec alteratur, et multo evidencius non generatur propter hoc, quod noviter habet esse sacramentale in hostia consecrata. Item, si K. L. sacramentum altaris sit corpus Christi ydemptice vel aliter quam figurative, tunc ipsum vivit vita animali, et posset ex se moveri et agere sicut homo; consequens contra autorem De divinis officiis et contra experimentum; quia quantumcunque hostia pungitur, comburitur vel inhonorifice tractatur, non plus movet se quam panis alius. Et cum corpus Christi mortale vivificatum per animam aufugit hostes, ut patet in conversacione Christi, multo magis corpus Christi, tam gloriose vivificatum, mala huiusmodi declinaret. Non enim est ad meritum Christi vel sue ecclesie quod taliter paciatur.

immovable as in Heaven,

living with animated life, acting in all things like man, &c. which is against authority and experience.

Quod autem illa hostia vivat videtur, si sit ydemptice corpus Christi; quia corpus Christi non est ibi exanime, cum gracia concomitancie multiplicantur omnia accidencia absoluta; igitur multo evidencius vita sua. Non igitur est hoc sacramentum corpus Christi mortuum, cum habet ad omnem eius punctum animam beatum actuantem; illud autem foret nimis blasfemum, quia dyabolus non tantum cecavit ecclesiam, quin vident experimento certissimo quod hostia consecrata, | ex B 107[a] naturali inclinacione | dimissa, fit fetida et putrescens; A 100[a] quod non potest competere corpori domini sic dotato; quia impossibile fuit corpus domini mortuum putrescere in sepulchro: ut patet Act. II° et psalmo XV. "Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corrupcionem." Et idem M. potest esse de sacramento calicis; potest enim servari in vase vitreo, quousque versum sit in acetum et venenum, quod repugnat virtuti regitive sangwinis Jesu Christi.

If Christ were present by identity, the Host would be animated; for Christ lives. But the Host putrefies, the wine becomes vinegar; which His glorified body could not do.

Nec valet ficticia de actu exercito et signato. Ponunt enim doctores signorum, quod non est dare universalia

Nominalist theory: Universals having no actual

5. igitur *deest* B. 26. minus AB. 27. quando B. 36. sanguis C.

3. The impossibility of a thing being where it was not before, unless either brought there, or changed (which Wyclif had to deny), is the great argument for Transsubstantiation. See Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* qu. 75, art. II.

ex parte rei; ideo pro glozandis dictis philosophorum invenerunt hos terminos: ut quando philosophi dicunt, quod universalia sunt perpetua, ubique et semper, "hoc est verum" inquiunt, "non *in actu exercito*, sed *signato*"; ut universalia, cum solum sunt termini vel conceptus quos non facimus, non habent in naturis suis huiusmodi passiones sed in actu *signato*, hoc est signata per talia universalia sic se habent: ut patet de substancia, quantitate et multis aliis signatis per terminos universales, sic inquiunt: "Panis sacramentalis non est in actu exercito corpus Christi, cum sit pure accidens longe plus distans in natura a corpore Christi, quam panis materialis; sed est corpus Christi in actu signato, hoc est, sacramentaliter signat corpus Christi."

being, except *in actu signato* in the mind that thinks them, the Host is not Christ's body *in actu exercito*, but *signato*; i. e. it only signifies Christ's body.

Sed contra istud instatur, primo, per hoc, quod sacramentum foret solum signum vel figura corporis Christi; ut dicit Berengarius quod sic loquentes ponunt hereticum: Item, cum illud esse quo sacramentum
A 100b est | corpus Christi, non sit aliter ibi quam in signo,
B 107b magnum | itaque foret inconveniens quod hec fides non
N. sit detecta ecclesie. Item per idem quodcunque signatum quod deus instituit signari per signum vel terminum, communicaret vere nomen suum illi signo et per consequens sicut quilibet impositor potest facere signum, signans sibi deum omnipotentem, qui creavit mundum ex nichilo, qui summe gubernat ecclesiam quam redemit et qui finaliter iudicabit seculum tanquam summus iudex. Et
Bar. VI, 11 et seq. ut breviter dicatur, Jeremias nunquam copiosius replicavit contra ydolatras Egypcios (de quo Baruch VI), quin copiosius secuntur inconveniencia contra istos ydolatras.

Theory refuted: 1st because the sacrament would be only a figure of Christ; 2nd because we have no warrant of its truth; 3rd because if signs have so much force, any impostor could say he was God — in *actu signato*. This leads to idolatry.

Ideo dicunt alii econtra, quod substancia panis est corpus Christi, ut dicunt sancti doctores et leges ecclesie, ad illum sensum exercitum; hoc est, transsubstanciatur in corpus Christi; sed non est corpus Christi intelligendo signa in actu signato, quia ille sunt omnino desperate substancie, que non possunt ydemptificari. Contra illud replicatur primo, quod substancia panis per adversarios desinit esse pro instanti transsubstanciacionis, nec ante est corpus Christi, nec per idem iuxta sua principia potest esse; quia illum panem esse corpus Christi non potest tempore mensurari. Item, si panis sacramentalis non potest esse corpus Christi, et totus

Some say that the substance of bread *is* Christ's body *in actu exercito*.

But how can that be, if it ceases to exist in the moment of consecration, as they say it does? And if it still exists, is not idolatry committed?

4. non *deest* BCD; *ib.* scilicet *pro* sed BCD; *corr.* A. 5. tibi D. 8. temporalia B. 23. nomine AB. 35. fuit AB.

populus iuxta doctrinam scripture, doctorum et legum ecclesie adorat illum panem tanquam corpus Christi, videtur quod committit ydolatriam adorando, et ille | A 100[c]
error fuisset in ecclesia nimis diu a sanctis doctoribus et eius legibus toleratus.

The likeness of bread that remains after the consecration is rightly called bread; but why not Christ's body, rather than the bread that is no longer? And if bread, it would be material, and yet there is no matter, they say.

Item, illa similitudo | panis B 107[c]
que remanet post consecracionem est plena similitudo O.
panis materialis, et propterea vere dicitur esse panis; sed plus pertinens foret vocare ipsum corpus Christi, ut credit ecclesia, propter signanciam et figuram, quam panem illum qui secundum se totum desiit; et non est compossibile sacramento; igitur, panis sacramentalis qui remanet, foret pocius corpus Christi; videtur enim quod, sicut est panis propter dictam similitudinem, sic est panis materialis propter eandem similitudinem. Sic enim vocantur condiciones materiales et forme materiales, licet nec sint materia, nec in illa materia subiectata. Conformiter igitur diceretur panis sacramentalis remanens panis materialis, atque panis substancia.

Another theory; the likeness of the bread that remains *has* the body of Christ in all its points, but *is* not the body of Christ. But they admit that the words, *Hoc est* &c. made what they mean.

Propter ista dicit tercia responsio, quod nec panis qui prefuit nec similitudo panis que remanet, est vere aut realiter corpus Christi, sed habet ipsum corpus virtute verborum sacramentalium ad quemlibet eius punctum. Contra istud sepe invectum est, primo quia ierarchia tocius ecclesie, dominus noster Jesus Christus dicit de pane materiali: hoc est corpus meum; et demonstratur panis ille, ut dicunt eciam adversantes, ponentes quod illa proposicio est factiva et conversiva: sed nimis expectant eius verificacionem, cum dicunt quod in fine, primo cum non fuerit, erit vera.

Are they false? then the whole dogma must go.

Si igitur hoc principium Christi sit fundamentum ad dicendum quod corpus Christi est | ibidem, si hoc principium sit falsum, A 100[d]
patet quod deficit fundamentum ponendi corpus Christi esse ad aliquem punctum hostie consecrate.

Are they true? then Christ is virtually in the Host.

Quia autem hoc principium est verum, patet quod corpus Christi est virtualiter ad quemlibet eius | punctum, et sacra- B 107[d]
mentaliter quelibet pars eiusdem hostie.

The same body cannot be multiplied in several places; which this theory would require. Augustine quoted.

Item, ut superius deductum est, impossibile est idem P.
corpus in numero dimensionaliter pro eodem instanti multiplicari per loca distancia; sed hoc oporteret iuxta istam responsionem; igitur responsio falsa. Et idem confirmatur per Augustinum epistola 2ª ad Volusianum:

18. substancialis B. 27. conversativa B.

41. Aug. Ad Volusianum, t. 33, p. 517, of Migne.

"Corpora," inquit, "sunt, quorum nullum potest esse ubique totum, quin ut per innumerabiles partes aliquam alibi habeat necesse est; et quantumcunque sit corpus, seu quantulumcunque corpusculum loci occupat spacium, eundemque locum sic impleat ut in nulla eius parte sit totum." Ista autem via dicit quod substancia corporis Christi, sicut est secundum se totam in qualibet parte loci hostie consecrate, sic potest esse per situm tocius mundi, quod inmediate repugnat verbis et sentencie beati Augustini. Item, si corpus Christi sit substancialiter ad quemlibet punctum sacramenti, tunc est eque magnum, ubicumque fuerit, cum non poterit esse alicubi, non quantum. Unde videtur sanctum Thomam dicere in De veritate theologie libro 6° capitulo 14. "Inter alia," inquit, "miracula huius sacramenti primum est quod est idem corpus Christi in tanta quantitate, sicut fuit in cruce, et sicut iam est in celo." Oppositum videtur Augustinus expresse dicere.

This theory contradicts his words.

And if it be true, Christ is present with His whole size at every point of the Host; as St. Thomas says; seeming flatly to contradict Augustine.

A 101' Unde epistola 39 ad Dardanum | in qua, quia tractat de sacramento altaris, memoraretur de corpore Christi in illo, et cum, distingwens inter modum essendi dei ubique et modum essendi mundi mole magni, notat quomodo quantitas et qualitas in condicionibus distinguuntur; "cum," inquit, "sit corpus aliqua substancia,
B 108' quantitas eius | est in magnitudine molis eius; sanitas vero eius cum sit ubique per ipsum, non quantitas, sed qualitas eius est; non" inquit, "potuit obtinere quantitas corporis quod potuit qualitas. Nam ita, distantibus partibus, que simul esse non possunt, quoniam sua queque spacia locorum tenent, maiores maiora, et minores minora, non potuit esse in singulis quibusque partibus tota vel tanta, quanta per totum." Illud

Augustine says: "Quantity is in size; quality is in the being itself: so quantity cannot be all in one part, like quality."

21, 22. dei — essendi *deest* D. 24. sic *pro* sit CD; *ib.* corpus Christi B.

14. No work of St. Thomas bears that name at present. The nearest approach to this quotation that I have been able to find is the following passage: "*Credit . . . Ecclesia . . . sub illa parva hostia contineri et esse veraciter totum corpus Christi ita magnum et ita perfectum sicut fuit in cruce*" (Opusc. LII. *De Sacramento Eucharistie,* c. III). We must always bear in mind that St. Thomas, with the whole School, denies that quantity gives *actual* extension, but only *tends* towards doing so. Thus, by a miracle, Christ is without dimensions in the Host, and yet is as great as in Heaven. 24. Aug. Ad Dardanum. Migne, t. 33, p. 836.

igitur quod iste sanctus dixit non posse esse, fingimus esse in hostia.

Wyclif's theory agrees with Augustine's.

Q. Ideo, sicut dixi superius, corpus Christi multiplicatur per situm hostie non substancialiter sed sacramentaliter, nec alteratur; non putrescit, non comburitur, licet sacramentum illud quod est sacramentaliter ipsum taliter alteratur.

Glosses of ignorant men who except the case of a miracle in Augustine's words. With an adverb they destroy the value of all authority.

Sed glozatores ignari nimis seminant hereses in ista materia; ut dicta Augustini dicunt debere intelligi secundum racionem nature et non secundum racionem miraculi; ut quando crebro dicit, quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, et hic quod corpus Christi non potest esse sine adequacione eius cum loco; "Hoc", inquiunt, "debet intelligi quod non potest *naturaliter* ita esse". Et sic modicum valeret fundacio sentencie ex testimonio au | ctoritatis, cum potest tolli per unum adverbium. (A 101[b]) Hoc primo tollit evidencias quascunque captas a testimonio sanctorum.

But this can be done on the other side too; we can say 1st that the accidents are without a subject that subjects them merely naturally; Christ's mystic presence implying a miracle.

Pro quo notandum quod in duobus stat nostra variacio in ista materia: primo in proposicione affirmativa, qua dicitur quod accidens est sine subiecto; secundo, in proposicione negativa, qua dicitur quod non remanet substancia panis aut vini post consecracionem. Per duo igitur adverbia tollo colloracius ambo | ista, et scilicet *pure naturaliter;* et (B 108[b]) si mille testimonia sunt adducta, ut quecunque sonuerunt, quod accidens sit sine subiecto, hoc potest sane intelligi, quod ipsum accidens sit sine subiecto suo *pure naturaliter subiectante;* quamvis enim substancia panis sacramentalis subiectat eadem accidencia que prius, hoc tamen fit miraculose, cum simul sit substancia panis, cuius quidditas quo ad consideracionem fidelium est sopita, et cum hoc modo equivoco sit corpus Christi; in quo consideracio fidelium est collecta.

And 2nd that the substance of bread does not remain in a purely natural way; for it is miraculously Christ's sacramental body.

R. Et quantum ad proposiciones quascunque negativas secunde sentencie que videtur dicere quod substancia panis post consecracionem non remanet, omnes possunt intelligi quod non remanet *pure naturaliter,* cum panis valde miraculose remanet sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Nec dicetur racio quare Augustinus, dicens quod hec non possunt fieri, debet intelligi quod hec non possunt fieri naturaliter, quin per idem homines minores auc-

13. potest *deest* D. 17. tolli C. 29. dicit AB. 35. due C; *ib.* videntur CD. 40, 41. debet — fieri *deest* D.

toritatis et inevidencius, dicentes quod panis non remanet, debent intelligi quod ipse non remanet pure naturaliter. A 101[c] Unde videtur glosam impositam Augustino esse | nimis superficialem. Primo, quia, si accidens potest esse sine subiecto, potest esse naturaliter sine subiecto; sed antecedens, ut inquiunt, est absolute necessarium: ideo relinquitur quod glosa sit simpliciter impossibilis; argumentum videtur ex hoc quod, sicut deus potuit ordinasse formas illas fuisse generaliter sine substancia materiali, sic potest adhuc compendiosius ordinare. Sed tunc fuisset accidens naturaliter sine subiecto. Item, eo ipso quo deus dat forme potenciam, potest ipsa forma naturaliter denominari ab illa potencia. Sed deus B 108[c] dat qualitati | et quantitati sacramentali potenciam essendi sine subiecto, agendi et paciendi in toto conformiter ac si esset subiectata; igitur post datam potenciam hec potest facere naturaliter, aliter enim nulla creatura posset post supernaturalem creacionem aliqualiter naturaliter se habere. Sicut igitur hostia consecrata manet per mensem naturaliter sine subiecto, tam agens quam paciens, sic potest manere. Licet enim modus supernaturalis conservacionis concurrit cum modo naturali in qualibet creatura, tamen ille non impedit quin modus naturalis datus concurrens denominet subiectum, tam naturaliter quam supernaturaliter, taliter se habere; ut, sicut naturaliter agit et patitur, sic naturaliter est; et cum hoc miraculose est: ideo, melius fuisset glose geminare adverbia, dicendo quod accidens non potest esse S. pure naturaliter sine subiecto. Item non est fingendum aliquod miraculum sine racione et utilitate ecclesie; A 101[d] sed nec foret | racio nec utilitas ecclesie quod in sacramento sit accidens sine subiecto; igitur conclusio. Fingendum dico, quia nec sensus, nec racio, nec scriptura docet quod ibi sit miraculum; sed, sicut finguntur potestates clavium et spirituale suffragium, sic et illud miraculum. Et que, rogo, racio vel utilitas foret ecclesie quod substancia panis et materia prima secundum se totam desinat, ubi eque vel utilius posset fieri iuvamen ecclesie, tota substancia remanente. Nam eque posset corpus Christi esse in hostia, eque dari gracia et eque glozari possent testimonia servata substancia, sicut modo; B 108[d] et super hoc per subtraccionem essencie materialis |

To exist without a subject is to exist naturally without one.

If those forms could possibly exist without matter, that would be *in their nature.*

And this power being in their nature, is rightly called natural.

For the supernatural order must be founded on the natural.

So the Gloss ought at least to have added a second adverb: *merely.*

This would be a useless and therefore an inadmissible miracle.

What use is there in inventing a disappearance of the substance when, keeping the substance, you do just as well?

19. Sic B. 40. esse *deest* B. 42. per *deest* D.

Innocent's decree could be explained away; bread and wine do not remain in the Sacrament *naturally* but *supernaturally*, raised to a more perfect state.

I do not maintain that that was the real meaning of Pope Innocent; but I piously prefer supposing that it was.

ad tantum deterioraretur mundi machina et infructuosis ac fictis difficultatibus oneraretur ecclesia. Posset enim glozari Innocencius tercius ut supra et concordari cum declaracione subtili Romane ecclesie sub Nicolao II°, ubi docetur concorditer ad scripturam et sanctos doctores quod panis et vinum ante consecracionem sunt post consecracionem non solum sacramentum, sicut dixit Berengarius, sed corpus Christi et sanguis; et cum hoc transsubstanciantur in illa, quia convertuntur et fiunt, ymo sunt, ut dicit Ambrosius, corpus Christi et sanguis. Et hinc, nec panis nec vinum remanet post consecracionem pure naturaliter, sed sunt corpora nobiliora; sic quod, suspensa tota consideracione fidelium de quidditate sua, in consideracionem corporis et sanguinis suspendantur: et ita rite suscepta sine | mendacio A 102[a] habent in se vitam spiritualem; sicut medicina in se virtualiter continet sanitatem. Utrum autem papa Innocencius tercius sic intellexerit, vel solum contrarium erroneum, non contendo; sed licet utrumque sit satis possibile, pium tamen est, nisi patens evidencia doceat contrarium, supponere primam partem. Glosatores autem inscii nimis perturbarunt ecclesiam in hac fide.

CAPITULUM QUINDECIMUM.

Inter 4^or ewangelistas qui ingeminant contra me in materia de eukaristia, unus laboriose nititur deducere sentenciam suam ascendendo a tempore instanti usque ad Christum, quod mansit continue fides ecclesie, sacramentum altaris esse accidens vel agregacionem accidencium | [B 109a] sine subiecto. Sed in tribus deficit. Primo, in hoc quod extraneat in genologia. Non enim capit omnes testes suos pro conclusione illa, sed nunc pro una sentencia et nunc pro alia. In cuius signum ipsemet fluctuat in sentencia quam probaret. Secundo capit in duodena sua testes valde suspectos fidelibus: ut patet inferius, et oportet ipsemet negare illos in materia ista; et dicere quod tantum acceptat eos quantum concordant cum sua sentencia et in alio negare eos, foret nimis suspecta ficticia. Et tercio, deficit in hoc quod non deducit genologiam suam ad deum inclusive, sed sicut deficit in generacione "qui fuit", sic deficit in ultimo verbo "qui fuit dei". Sicut enim Christus deus noster fuit yerarch tocius ecclesie, in cuius virtute depen | [A 102b] dent omnia testimonia in ista materia vel alia addducendum, sic virtute istorum verborum, "Hoc est corpus meum", dependet tota fides que de eukaristia catholice est credenda. Ad discuciendum igitur istud verbum "qui fuit dei", primo intenderet.

Sunt autem 23 testimonia ad confirmandum predictam sentenciam: primum est multitudinis doctorum, qui sunt capita sectarum: sed quia discordant in se ipsis, nec fundantur in testimonio divine auctoritatis, ideo sub uno involucro quo ad istam materiam repel- [B.] luntur. Ulterius adducuntur Lynconiensis. Petrus Lumbardus et Petrus Comestor, qui videntur sentenciare

One of my adversaries has attempted a genealogy of testimonies against me, from now to Christ.

Three defects: *a*) He takes some witnesses that are for, and some that are against him. *b*) He accepts the testimony of very suspicious witnesses.

c) He does not go to the beginning, i. e. dares not quote the "*Hoc est corpus meum.*"

Examination of the 23 witnesses in number.
I. The Chiefs of sects objected to because they do not agree.
II. Grosseteste contradicts himself: I can explain him as I choose.

1. Capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 8. rapit BC. 20. noster *deest* D.
22. ad deducendum BCD. 26. etenim *pro* autem 23 B.

quod in sacramento altaris sit accidens sine subiecto. Quantum ad primum doctorem, patet quod ipse dicit sine formidine | quod accidens non potest esse sine B 109^b subiecto, quia tunc foret verius res ipsa; ut, si forma artificialis domus vel cultelli foret per se sine materia, tunc ipsa foret verius domus vel cultellus quam ista artificialia que habemus. Et si glosetur doctor in isto, super capitulo 2° 2^i Posteriorum, quare non licet nobis glosare eum coloracius in ista materia? Ad cuius sensum eliciendum reliquit non superflue adverbium illud

III, IV. Lombard and Peter Comestor, who often say what these doctors consider heretical, may be dismissed.

"forte". Et conformiter possunt glosari duo doctores sequentes. Sicut enim Lincolniensis ponit composicionem continui ex non quantis, et alia multa que doctores moderni dicunt esse inpossibilia; sic magister sententiarum | dicit opinative multa in ista materia, que A 102^c doctores isti dicunt esse heretica. Ideo isti debent ab eis renui in enquesta.

V, VI. Lanfranc and Guitmundus rejected, because they only attacked the doctrine of Berengarius.

Preter istos 4^{or} testes, sunt quinque alii prelati plus suspecti; scilicet Lanfrancus, Wimundus, Gandofilus, Pascasius et Arnulfus. Duo autem primi prelati invexerunt contra Berengarium, in hoc quod posuit panem et vinum remanere post consecracionem solum sacramentum, sic quod non corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, quod publice posterius revocavit coram Nicolao II° et concilio Romane ecclesie; ut patet de Consecracione, distinccione 2^a, capitulo *Ego Berengarius.* C.

Nec oportet alias cronicas apocrifas in istis attendere;

And the latter seems to say that bread is identically Christ's body: a very useless witness, for he denies that the sacrament is an accident.

isti autem erant nimis ignari logice. Unde iste Wymundus ad tantum conpalpitat, quod videtur asserere panem sacramentalem esse ydemptice et substancialiter corpus Christi, nec mutacionem esse in sacramento, sed apparenciam fantasticam, | et angelis in celum deferentibus B 109^c corpus Christi, mira celeritate panis alius subrogatur. Iste autem Wymundus est testis doctori nimis inutilis, cum ponit accidens non posse esse sine subiecto, et omnino illud sacramentum non esse accidens per se, sed sine figura esse substancialiter corpus Christi; ideo inter omnes testes allegabiles iste est magis contrarius

VII, VIII. Gandofilus and Paschasius are

huic secte. Et sic de Gandofilo atque Pascasio; isti, in-

34. autem *deest* B. 36. accidens *deest* D.

39. St. Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in 865, was the author of a treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, and several other works. See Migne, t. CXX. Wyclif ought to have counted him among the doctors of the first millenary. Cf. p. 206, note.

only named to increase the number.

quam, prelati apponuntur ad augendum numerum, ut A 102d tersites. Et quantum | ad Arnolfum, patet quod ipse in quinque percuntacionibus suis dicit multas notabiles veritates que non sunt ideo credende, quia ille dicit eas, sed quia scriptura dicit illas: que scriptura dicit de vero pane, non de accidentibus sine subiecto, "hoc est corpus meum". Est autem iste Arnulfus in multis contrarius huic secte; primo, inquam, in questione 4ta dubitat, si corpus domini quod sumitur de altari sit animatum et inmortale; tales autem difficultates dicit posterius, sicut secta Machometi, non esse querendas; sed capiendum ut fidem, quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi et sangwis, et quod virtute verborum Christi panis et vinum fiunt corpus Christi et sanguis. "Et firmissime," inquit, "scimus quod carnis Christi cuius substancia adest, qualitatem illam adesse senciamus." "Non recte," inquit, "querimus an illa caro sit mortalis vel immortalis, mortua vel viva, sicut non D. recte queritur an in hostia sacrata panis existat." Contrarium omnium istorum tractat ista secta ut fidem, cum dicit quod hostia sit panis, quia accidens sine B 109d subiecto; et una pars istius secte dicit quod illa | hostia est corpus Christi: tota tamen secta in hoc convenit, quod corpus Christi est ibi vivum et immortale cum omni qualitate existente in corpore vel carne Christi in celo. Quomodo igitur conveniunt tales testes huic secte, cum tam patule contradicunt? Ego autem intelligo quod panis ille fit et est corpus Christi post conse- A 103a cracionem, | et accidencia remanent sine subiecto suo pure naturaliter subiectante, cum panis ille sit miraculose corpus Christi, quod non potest subiectare illa accidencia: et solum est tunc principaliter corpus Christi.

IX. As for Arnolfus, the truths he says are from Scripture; to be believed, but not on his account.

Besides, he will not enquire whether the Sacrament is animate or not, immortal or not;

and blames the enquiry whether the bread remains after consecration.

"We must simply believe what Christ said, and go no further."

Melius igitur esset allegare Bonaventuram, Dokhink, Occam, Fishacrem et Albertum, quia ipsi videntur sapere clarius in hac fide, nec sunt sectis istis tantum contrarii.

5. dicit *deest* BCD. 10. inanimatum *omnes MSS.* 13, 14. et quod — sanguis *deest* BCD. 24. vinum D. 33. Dokhink CD.

3. There is another similar allusion to Thersites in *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, p. 82. It seems to be a general scholastic term for anything worthless. 33. *Dokhing*. Perhaps Thomas Docking, 7th Divinity lecturer at Oxford in 1308. Monum. Francisc. I, p. 550, 552. Wadding, p. 220, mentions 23 Works of his. 34. Fishacre of Devonshire; a learned Dominican and a great friend both of Grosseteste and of *Robert* Bacon (also a Dominican). Died 1248. See *Chalmer's Biography*; *Stephen's Dict. of Nat. B.*

X. Bernard says that all the senses but hearing are wrong as regards this Sacrament.

But all the senses help towards our faith; none alone, but each in its proper share.

And though hearing is in this case first, yet it has been also the occasion of many heresies, and diversities of opinion.

Sed pro completa duodena millenarii quo solutus est pater mendacii, adducuntur alii tres testes; primus est Bernhardus super cantica, ubi dicit quod sensus alii deficiunt in materia fidei preter auditum, ut inquiunt, visus, olfactus, gustus et tactus, indicant sacramentum esse panem; sed, cum secundum apostolum ad Rom. X "fides ex auditu"; Christus autem dicit: [Rom. X, 17] "Hoc est corpus meum"; auditus indicat hoc sacramentum esse corpus Christi. Hic patet quod non solum [E.] auditus sed alii quatuor sensus conferunt ad noticiam fidei quod hoc sacramentum sit corpus Christi; nullus autem illorum sensuum per se, sed quilibet illorum discernit quod suum est, et super omnes illos autor fidei illuminat intellectum et dat fidem qua creditur hanc hostiam et quamlibet eius partem | quantitativam esse [B 110ᵃ] corpus Christi; auditus autem illud non indicat, sed licet habeat quandam supereminenciam in adminiculando intellectui, ex auditu tamen per cautelas dyaboli multiplicantur multe hereses | in ista materia; ut unus dicit [A 103ᵇ] quod nichil demonstratur pronomine proposicionis sacramentalis, alius autem dicit quod solum corpus Christi demonstratur: et sic nec panis nec eius accidens potest esse corpus Christi. Ego autem dico quod substancia panis demonstratur pronomine, et fit ac est corpus Christi virtute verborum sacramentalium; et omnes iste diversitates capiunt originem ex auditu. Ulterius, dico quod post consecracionem panis ille solum est corpus Christi supernaturaliter, licet essencia maneat subiectans naturaliter illas formas.

XI. Anselm says that Christian piety has always abhorred the idea that bread remains in the Sacrament. Which may be explained that is does not remain principally or supernaturally.

Anselm, saying elsewhere that an accident is not without its subject, would thus escape nconsistency.

Et per hec patet solucio ad dicta secundi testis Anshelmi, qui dicitur in quadam epistola dicere quod panem remanere post consecracionem semper abhorruit pietas Christiana; hoc, inquam, potest sic sane intelligi, [F.] quod illa essencia que fit corpus Christi post consecracionem non remanet principaliter vel supernaturaliter panis ut ante, et sic non remanet pure panis; sed secundum quandam actualitatem quam haberet ex consideracione fidelium desinit esse, licet remaneat in essencia naturali. Et sic possunt concordari dicta Anshelmi, dicentis in fine libri sui *de veritate* quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, et talia dicta de

18. intellectum AB. 22. nec *deest* CD. 35. remanet non remanet CD.

39. Ans. De Veritate, c. XIII. Migne, t. 158, p. 484, 485.

eukaristia. Nunquam enim fuit intencionis cuiusquam sancti dicere quod corpus Christi sit illud accidens sine subiecto, vel quelibet particula panis sancti secun-
B 110[b] dum | corporis Christi substanciam vel naturam, sed
A 103[c] secundum esse | sacramentale vel figuram.

Unde sicut universale, verbi gracia, species ignis, est quilibet ignis particularis, et tamen non generatur, corrumpitur vel movetur proporcionabiliter ut sua individua; sic quodammodo corpus Christi est multe hostie consecrate, et quelibet earum, et tamen non generatur, corrumpitur, agit vel patitur, ut quelibet earum. Licet autem hec similitudo in quibusdam conferat, in multis tamen capit diversitatem, tam in modo loquendi quam eciam in re ipsa; quia universale est substancia vel essencia cuiuslibet sui suppositi, sic quod ipsum per se et non per accidens est illa species; et sic sunt partes subiective speciei, que est quodammodo totum universale respectu eorum. Non sic autem de hostiis consecrandis, cum manent per tempus illud quod erant antequam fuerunt corpus Christi. Et istam sentenciam de universalibus approbat Anshelmus, ut patet *de incarnacione* capitulo 7°. Non igitur est religiosum scandalisare doctores sed, quantum fides permiserit, concordare. Unde Anshelmus in eodem libro in principio dicit, quod sicut in mensa nupciali, aqua in vinum mutata, solum affuit vinum in quod mutata est aqua, sic in mensa altaris solum adest corpus Christi, in quod vere mutata est substancia panis una, nisi quod de aqua nichil remansit in mutacione illa; de pane vero mutato ad peragendum sacri institutum ministerii, sola remanet
A 103[d] species visibilis. | Ideo, quantum ad triplicem instanciam
G. sophistarum, patet quod debet tolli per sensum quem
B 110[c] doctor | debet pretendere.

Primo, inquam, arguunt, quod in miraculo de quo Johannis II° non solum vinum affuit, cum tam materia
Jo. II, 1—10 quam forma, quam eciam multa genera accidencium affuerunt. Ideo videtur debere intelligi quod solum vinum affuit illa essencia, que prius erat aqua; et per hoc tollitur secunda instancia sophistarum qua arguunt

Christ's body is there like a universal in its particulars: not generated, incorruptible, unchangeable.

Yet not quite so, for the universal is substantially in each individual, and makes them what they are.

This is Anselm's opinion; and it is better to reconcile doctors than set them against each other.

"The water made wine is like the Eucharistic change; but something remains in the first case, not in the second".

Though not only wine but also accidents were present in this case; the essence that had been water became only wine.

9. est *deest* BCD. 21. de universalibus *deest* BCD. 26. qua AB: *ib.* si *pro* sic B.

22. Ans. De Fide Trinitatis, c. II. Migne, t. 158, p. 265. St. Anselm here defends Realism against the Nominalist Roscelinus.

If the bread and accidents remain, you cannot say "*Only* Christ's body." But Anselm meant *principally.*

non posse esse quod in mensa altaris solum adest corpus domini, cum sacramentum et multa accidencia remaneant. Videtur enim sanctum sentire quod solum remanet principaliter corpus Christi. Et sic tollitur tercia instancia sophistarum qua arguunt repugnare quod miraculo Christi de aqua nichil remansit, cum illa essencia que est materia prima cum accidentibus ipsam consequentibus remanserant.

What had been water before, became wine by miracle. And Scripture speaks of "the water made wine." So the master of the feast tasted *water*, tasting the wine.

Thus the essence that was before pure bread, afterwards becomes Christ's body; a sacrament, because one thing is seen and another is understood. Ambrose quoted.

The book ascribed to Anselm, and falsely to Augustine, is spurious.

Ideo videtur quod sane posset intelligi nichil remanere de substancia aque principaliter in actu consideracionis fidelium post eius conversionem in vinum; certum est enim secundum doctrinam istius philosophi et Augustini, quod illud quod prius erat aqua, per miraculum posterius esset vinum. Ideo dicit fides subtilis scripture, quod dum "gustasset architriclinus aquam vinum factam" etc. Ex qua fide sequitur et ipsum architriclinum gustasse aquam; et per consequens ipsa remanserat vere vinum. | Et eodemmodo intelligendum est de conversione uxoris Loth in statuam salis, et artificiali factura vitri ex silice. Non, inquam, valet scandalizare tantum philosophum, quod vel ignorat philosophiam vel non reduxit exempla sua ad proposi | tum. Eadem igitur essencia, que prius fuit pure panis, fit posterius per verba sacramentalia corpus Christi, ut dicunt beatus Ambrosius et Augustinus cum decreto ecclesie. "Quod erat panis" inquit Ambrosius, "ante consecracionem iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem; et Augustinus, ut allegat Anshelmus ibidem, "Quod videtur," inquit, "panis est, et calix quod oculi renuncciant; quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi et calix est sanguis. Ista ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur et aliud intelligitur." Et sic nichil valent hec testimonia, nisi ad docendum quod panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum et tamen quodammodo corpus Christi et sangwis; ut exponit decretum Romane ecclesie: "*Ego Berengarius.*" Et recitantur dicta Ambrosii et Augustini eadem distinccione, capitulo. "*Panis est in altari*" et capitulo, "*Qui manducant.*" Qui autem voluerit defen-

H. A 104v B 110v

8. convenientibus B; *corr.* A. 19. filice ACD. 21. non *deest* BCD. 27. per CD. 34. cum *omnes MSS.*

25. Ambr. De Sacramentis, l. IV, c. 4. Migne, t. 16, p. 441. 28. Aug. Sermones. Migne, t. 38, p. 1246, 1247. 38. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars. D. II, c. 58.

dere hunc libellum qui inponitur Anshelmo et mendacius Augustino nimium onus capit in manibus. Ideo talia dicta apocrifa vel sunt totaliter omittenda, vel aliter est veritas catholica a falsitatis fecibus exsugenda.

I. 12° et ultimo quantum ad istum secundum mille- A 104b narium allegatur papa Innocencius | tercius, qui quasi abbas tocius undenarii prioris dicitur suam sentenciam insolubiliter confirmare. Duo vere sunt dicta Innocencii tercii, ut sepe repecii, ex quibus fingitur ista blasfemia; primum est dictum primi decretalis capitulo "*Firmiter*," ubi dicitur, quod panis et vinum transsubstanciantur B 111a in corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed sepe dictum est | ex isto sequi opportere substanciam panis et vini remanere ad subiectandum transsubstanciacionem illam passivam, quia accidens respectivum non potest esse sine subiecto. Si igitur aliquid subicitur transsubstanciacioni, tunc ipsum est, quia aliter id quod nichil est moveretur. Supponendum igitur est Innocencium tercium loqui conformiter ad priores sanctos in ista materia; ad sensum igitur quo ipsi dicunt panem converti in corpus Christi, fieri corpus Christi, et esse per consecracionem corpus Christi, supponitur papam istum intelligere panem illum transsubstanciari: et tunc patet quod, si sic mutatur, tunc remanet: et si dicitur quod hoc sit impossibile, patet quod non, ex dictis sanctorum: nec est significacio termini transsubstanciacionis ad sensum contrarium fundanda; et eo quo mutacio ista est mirabilior, est sacramento consonancior, cum adversarii glorientur in fictis miraculis huius sacramenti mirabilis. Et ad hunc sensum possunt concordari decretum Nicolai III[i] et decretalis huius pape sequentis, ut supra K. exposui. Secundum dictum est eiusdem Innocencii III[ii] in 3° Decretalium, capitulo "*Cum Marthe*", que videtur A 104c dicere, quod accidens sit sine subiecto; | quod non foret pertinens, nisi illud accidens fuerit hoc sensibile sacramentum. Sed constat quod multa dicta in tercio Decretalium in ista materia sunt tanquam probabiliter opinata. Et illud de permanencia accidencium sine subiecto ex instinctu spiritus sancti est omissum in decretali Gregorii noni; quod si foret tam necessarium ad fundan- B 111b dum fidem ecclesie, deberet primo inseri, aliis preter- |

XII. Pope Innocent III in two places seems to uphold that doctrine.

1st when he declares that transsubstantiation takes place.

But if there is a change, the substance of bread and wine must endure. If nothing remained, *what* would be changed? Nothing.

That this is impossible is contrary to the writings of the Saints. The more mysterious it is, the more worthy of the Sacrament.

2nd When, in another place, Innocent seems to admit absolute accidents.

But *a*) this is only affirmed as probable; *b*) it was not inserted in Gregory IX's Decretal;

17. movetur AB. 20. quomodo CD. 21. fieri — Christi *deest* B. 30. recordari D.

c) and were it otherwise, the possibility of an absolute accident not informing the substance would not prove that the substance no longer exists.

necessariis pretermissis. Sed supposito quod inseratur in decretali novo ecclesie, patet quod non sequitur quia licet cum possit esse, ut inquiunt, quod substancia panis plene remaneat et quod illud accidens per illam substanciam extendatur, cum hoc quod eius informacio et panis subiectacio suspendatur: et hoc foret maius mirabile. Et sic iuxta principia eorum plus cederet ad honorificenciam sacramenti. Et patet quod neutrum dictorum istorum necessitat ad ponendum quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto.

Even supposing that such were the decision of Rome we ought not to follow her when the contradicts Scripture.

Sed cum sit possibile, ut patet per glossatores, quod ista fuit sentencia Romane ecclesie, suppono papam cum cardinalibus declarasse universalem ecclesiam sensisse quod sacramentum altaris sit accidens sine subiecto: hoc enim foret satis possibile. Tunc dicitur, quod fidelis crederet nullum Romanum pontificem citra Petrum cum quantocunque clero esse credendum in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in scriptura. Cum igitur non potest fundari in scriptura quod corpus Christi sit accidens sine subiecto, patet quod non est credendum in isto cuicunque Romano pontifici, | cum A 104[d] quotquot suis complicibus.

The Pope and his Cardinals may be foreknown;

Stat enim omnes illos esse prescitos et non partes sancte matris ecclesie; igitur non est de necessitate salutis credere quod quicquid ut fidem decreverint est credendum: quia tunc in casu quis debet credere falsum, fidei Christiane contrarium, quod Christus non potest precipere. L.

for they can sin mortally, and fall away from God, the first article in our creed.

Similiter totum tale collegium potest peccare mortaliter, et per consequens potest deficere a credendo in deum, qui est primus | B 111[c] articulus fidei, et esse infideli deterior, profitendo se sequi Christum simillime, et tamen in vita seculari secundum fastum et questum a Christo maxime elongari. Quare igitur non posset talis persona, sicut ipsa est decepta in fide, sic subiectos sue symonie consencientes in fide decipere? Non dubium, quin posset faciliter, licet extollatur "super omne, quod dicitur deus".

He can not claim Christ's assistance as Pope or bishop of Rome.

Similiter si habet talem virtutem quod non posset subvertere populum in fide, hoc haberet in quantum Romanus pontifex sive papa, cui opportet Christum assistere. Sed hoc est vel inpertinens Christi assistencie, vel disposicio ad antichristum, cui Christus non sic assisteret, sed permitteret in penam peccati

1. pertinenciis *pro* preter necessariis B; *ib.* insaniretur CD. 2. quod *pro* quia BC. 8, 9. doctorum BCD. 14. est B. 29. accedendo AB.

plebem in fide subvertere. Et testantur hoc leges multe, ut patet de Symonia capitulo 3°. Ideo supponitur quod sicut papa perverso nullus est maior apostata, sic nullus est apcior sathane ad infide populum seducendum. Et confirmacio istius est quod diebus nostris Gregorius XIus dampnat duas veritates absolute necessarias, ut dampnatissimam et sceleratissimam; scilicet quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab A 105a ecclesia delinquente; et quod non | eo ipso quo papa pretendit se quovismodo solvere vel ligare, eo ipso sic solvit vel ligat; quam dampnacionem mundi, eciam quantumcunque sint dominis temporalibus inimici, nesciunt vel defendere vel assensu heretico excusare. Ideo Gal. I, 8 cum apostolus dicat, "si quis aliud ewangelisaverit B 111d quam ewangelisatum est, licet fuerit | "angelus de celo, anathema sit." Cum igitur papa potest pretendere se licite dispensare contra apostolum, manifestum est quod talis anathema potest in fide subvertere multas gentes.

And Gregory XI has condemned as heretical two truths which must be believed.

He has incurred anathema, attempting to change the Gospel.

Nec sunt evidencie contrarie digne memorie. Arguunt enim quidam quod Christus promisit ecclesie eidem: "Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consumacionem seculi"; igitur cum Christus non potest mentiri, non potest in isto deficere. Conceditur conclusio; sed, si papa non sit de numero illorum propter extraneacionem a sequela in moribus, quid sibi et adverbio illi "vobiscum"? Non enim humana statuicio sive eleccio cogit Christum ut sit cum filiis suis per graciam, sed predestinacio et imitatoria filii operacio facit ipsum esse de eorum numero, quibus Christus sic loquitur: quod est vel ambiguum vel evidenter falsum de Romano pontifice, propter vitam eius Christo contrariam. Ideo absit illa fides a fidelibus, quod quicunque Romanus pontifex sit caput eorum quibus M. Christus sic loquitur. Secundo obicitur per hoc quod oportet in ecclesia esse unum caput pro fide et causis ecclesie decidendis, quem oportet esse Romanum pontificem immediatum Christi vicarium; aliter enim ecclesia foret acephala. Hic conceditur assumptum, cum Christus sit capud militantis ecclesie, cum ipsa perpetuo; et si contingat Romanum pontificem esse pauperrimum et humillimum, et proxime sequentem Christum inter sin-

Answer to arguments for the Pope.

I. Christ has promised to be with His Church.

But what if the Pope does not belong to the Church?

If the Pope's life is contrary to Christ's, the promise was not made to him.

II. The Church must have a head.

But Christ is the Head of the Church, and the Pope only in so far as he is like Christ; to say otherwise were blasphemy.

2. in de C. 19. memoria C. 24. est B. 38. acephalia AB.

2. De Simonia, p. 27.

Digression as to the Pope's claims to define faith. These may in some cases have had good results, though false.

The heathen rite of choosing a Roman Pontiff might be given up with advantage.

III. There must be a dispenser of spiritual gifts in the Church; who can be none but the Bishop of Rome. But Christ ordains to that office him whom he pleases, v. g. Augustine, who, as pope (Prosper calls him so), ought to be believed rather than any Roman pontiff.

gulos viatores, tunc ipse est immediate Christi vicarius; ut creditur fuisse de beato | Gregorio. Sed statuere B 112ᵃ unam legem quod quicunque et qualiscunque fuerit Romanus pontifex, sit caput tocius. ecclesie, videtur sapere manifestam blasfemiam, cum non sit in hominis potestate statuere quemquam esse partem ecclesie, multo magis non spectat quod sit summus in ecclesia quo ad deum. Casualiter igitur ex ordinacione divina ex talibus blasfemiis bona eveniunt, ut dictum est de provisione pape, de eleccione et multis aliis humanis legibus que sunt mala. Caput igitur ecclesie foret Christus; et lex sua, que est voluntas dei derelicta in terris, foret regula sufficiens ad quascunque causas fidei vel sentencias ecclesie decidendas. Sed suspenso ritu gentili prefeccione Romani episcopi, foret ecclesia per Christum perfeccius capitata; sic enim fuit a tempore Christi usque ad stultam dotacionem ecclesie Romane. Sic eciam vivunt multi fideles in divisione Urbani et Roberti, nec non in aliis contrattis conversis per alios apostolos, qui ignorant utrumque istorum. Sufficit enim ad salutem credere in dominum Jesum Christum. Nec debet fidelis sequi talem privatum prepositum, nisi de quanto tenuerit et sequentibus servaverit viam Jesu. Tercio obicitur per hoc quod oportet N. in ecclesia esse unum principaliter interpretantem et exequentem | legem ecclesie, cui credita sit dispensacio A 105ᶜ spiritualis thesauri Christi, per quem ut montem supremum post Christum derivetur lux inferioribus, ut vallibus, cui oportet credere finaliter in ambiguis. Quo ad istud sepe dictum est, quod Christus voluntarius distributor sapiencie istius ordinat quem voluerit ad istud officium, et non | consequitur instituciones et elec- B 112ᵇ ciones humanas, sed per opera et virtutes movemur a deo ad istius noticiam. Unde pape Augustino plus debemus credere in ista materia quam omnibus Romanis pontificibus post beatum Gregorium. Et voco hunc magnum Augustinum papam, quia sic vocat eum sanctus Prosper in quadam epistola; "domino," inquit, "beatissimo pape ineffabiliter mirabili, incomparabiliter honorabili, prestantissimo patrono Augustino, Prosper"; cum igitur

11. materia BC. 19. in *deest* B. 25. unam BC. 33. per *deest* B. 36. quod D.

19. Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. 38. Prosper ad Augustinum. Migne, t. 33, p. 1002.

in sanctis prioribus non vigebat tanta adulacio, sicut modo videtur, sic scripta docent quod beatus Augustinus fuit scripture sacre interpres prudencior quam omnes isti Romani pontifices. Sic igitur quelibet patria habet ex ordinacione divina unum interpretem, ita quod non opportet currere ad Romanum pontificem pro quibuslibet causis ambiguis decidendis. Et quantum ad execucionem legis, quilibet fidelis debet exequi ipsam O. concorditer, iuvando alium sine repugnancia. Et quantum ad dispensacionem thesauri ecclesie, patet quod illud est presumptum blasfemum officium, cum deus A 105[d] per se dispensat sicut wult; nec scit | Romanus pontifex, quomodo sit ad regulam dispensandum; ut dictum est de indulgenciis. Non enim cognoscit gravitatem peccati, nec distinccionem mortalis a veniali, aut ordinacionem dei de pena vel premio servi sui. Et quantum ad exemplum ulterius quod ponit de lege veteri, sepe dictum est quod foret nimis hereticum servare modo legalia veteris testamenti que fuerunt antitipus Jesu nostri, quia foret idem hoc credere et expectare antichristum futurum B 112[c] | tanquam deum. Nam plures facti sunt sacerdotes summi in lege veteri, ut omnes prefigurent Christum habentem sacerdocium sempiternum; ideo oportet in lege nova, loco sacerdotum legis veteris, succedere apostolos; qui omnes sunt socii, ut docet apostolus, Gall. I°; (Gal. I, 2) illi autem debent esse missi, tanquam exproprietarii, ut aquirant populum et honorem domino Jesu Christo. Maioritatem autem non debemus expectare inter eos, ut deus dederit eis humilitatem maioris servicii. Si autem questio orta sit, debent convenire et cuicunque qui a deo plus racionis habuerit debet credi. Si autem deficit in penam peccati divina inspiracio, non dedignentur decreta primorum patrum consulere; et omnino caveant quicquam in fide statuere sine auctoritate scripture.

Christ appoints an interpreter of his own in every country.

The execution of the divine law is the duty of all the faithful.

God Himself dispenses His treasures. The Pope does not know which sins are mortal, which venial.

We should not allege the Jewish High Priests.

They were but types; Christ's Apostles and their successors were poor, the least the greatest; difficulties settled by believing those who were best inspired, or consulting the Fathers, and following Scripture.

P. Modo autem diffinitum est ante Innocencium III[m] per Nicolaum II[m], quod panis et vinum remaneant post consecracionem tam sacramentum quam corpus Christi et sangwis. A 106[a] Ideo foret nimis stultum | presumere, quod dictus Innocencius tercius illam sentenciam fidei revocaret, specialiter cum possunt concordari, ut dictum

It having been already declared that the bread and wine remain, it is absurd to understand Pope Innocent's decree in a contrary sense.

2. sicut *omnes MSS.* 20. Christi B. 29. nisi ut CD; *ib.* humiliorritatem BCD. 37. remanent B.

They may draw conclusions from the word 'trans-substantiation; but nothing' condemns us explicitly.

est. Si autem in fide sit questio et non occurrit auctoritas decernendi, salubre foret in cortice scripture quiescere et neutram partem sensus ut fidem temere confirmare. Unde quia Gog non habuit expresse ex decreto Innocencii III[ii], quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, finxit mendacia, quod non est transsubstanciacio nisi substancia, servatis accidentibus, omnimode destruatur. Sed, supposito quod dictus Innocen-

If Innocent had the intention they ascribe to him, we should not believe him,

cius cum toto suo collegio decrevisset istud | explicite, B 112[d] non foret sibi credendum, nisi docta revelacione; cum expresse contradicit sanctis doctoribus, decreto ecclesie, et racioni. Unde verisimile est, quod spiritus sanctus inspirasset autores scripture et sanctos doctores priores ecclesie in isto articulo, si sit verus; evidencia autem est presumpcionis, quod non consuluit leges et decreta priora istius materie, quod non est credendum ex sua sentencia accidens per se remanens esse sacramentum

nor any the more because the Dominicans were founded in his time or because he behaved badly to England.

altaris. Nec movet quod fratres predicatores inceperant in sexto anno huius Innocencii III[ii] aut quod commovit regnum Francie cum aliis contra regnum nostrum et extorsit finaliter ut Anglia solveret sibi annuatim nongentas marcas, ut dictum est alibi, nec alia eius insignia nominanda.

But in any case his decree must be explained as above.

Quiescendum est igitur in priori sentencia et glosanda sunt dicta Innocencii, sicut supra. Et sic finaliter non posset doceri ex fide scri | pture quod sacramentum sit A 106[b] accidens sine subiecto; cum racio ad hoc non valeat,

Two extremes: one, that the Sacrament is the very body of Christ; which is idolatry;

non debet credi catholice. Sunt autem duo extrema in quibus dyabolus seducit ecclesiam; unum est, ut credatur sacramentum illud ydemptice esse corpus Christi; et ista ydolatria nimis laborat in laicis, qui credunt istud tam realiter, quam realiter aliquis ydolatra credit ali-

The other, that an accident is Christ's body; which is a clever trick of the Devil.

quod sculptite esse deum. Sed dyabolus declinavit ab isto ad aliud extremum; cum vidit populum ex naturali ingenio satis cognoscere illum panem non esse corpus Christi, subtiliavit in signis, seducendo generacionem adulteram, quod illud | sacramentum sit accidens sine B 113[a] subiecto; et sic, sicut conceditur simpliciter, ut faciunt

13. prioris B. 33. sculptile C; *ib.* declinavit *deest* B. 34. in *pro* ad B.

12. *Racioni.* Here Wyclif, as is seem, would admit revelation, even if it contradicted reason expressly; this goes *beyond* Catholic belief.

doctores ex auctoritate scripture, quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi, ita concedunt quod accidens sine subiecto sit eciam corpus Christi. Et ista est maior blasfemia: quia illud accidens vel nichil est vel vacuum; et concedere hoc de corpore Christi et deo foret summa blasfemia.

But also a greater blasphemy; and God is neither nothing, nor a void.

R. Ideo non est in potestate antichristi vel dei illud statuere. Sed sicut fabulatur quod presbyter Johannes prandendo eloquitur: "nunc comedat totus mundus," sic posset papa occiduus cadere in tantam maniam quod credat totum residuum mundi, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus ex suo arbitrio dependere: et virtute potestatis huius sine fundamento vel subiecto, non sine ipso ecclesiam gubernari; ita quod non solum A 106[c] omnes res corporales | sublunares, sed eciam omnia spiritualia dona dei ut gracie et virtutes ab ipso dependeant. Hoc autem est tam blasfemum credere, sicut quod corpus Christi sit in natura inperfeccius quam stercus ratonis. Rato enim est animal melancolicum, et mania secundum philosophos ex melancolia gignitur; Gen. X, 1, 5 Magog autem legitur Genes. fuisse filius Yoseph, cuius generacio dicitur partes occiduas magis melancolicas occupasse. Negabitur lex conversionis, quin sequitur, "inperfeccius quam alia substancia est corpus Christi: igitur corpus Christi est inperfeccius quam alia substancia". Et antecedens patet ex posicione, cum hoc sacramentum sit corpus Christi, et ipsum sacramentum sit inperfeccius quam aliqua substancia. Et ultra videtur sequi, cum corpus Christi sit aliqua substancia plena B 113[b] gracie et veritatis, quod | corpus Christi sit naturaliter inperfeccius quam corpus Christi. Cum igitur non sequitur: "Papa Innocencius cum concilio Lateranensi decrevit istam sentenciam: igitur verum"; oportet querere aliam evidenciam antequam illud concedi debeat tanquam fides; argumentum enim fidei debet excedere quodcunque argumentum topicum.

The pope has reached such a pitch of madness, that he claims to dispense even God's grace.

This is as mad as to say that Christ's body is less perfect than rat's dirt; for the rat is a melancholy animal; melancholy begets madness; and Magog dwelt in the West where men are melancholy.

We must seek arguments that give us more than mere probability.

9. predicando B. 20. maniacum BCD. 26—28. Et antecedens — substancia *deest* BCD. 29. alia C. 32. Innocencius tercius BCD.

8. See note *supra*, p. 169. 23. The text is perhaps corrupt here; or Wyclif may be joking. The latter supposition seems probable. If we compare this with the text that follows, we find that he objects to any reasoning that is not conclusive. What precedes may be a specimen, like the Scholastic jest: *Caesar vicit Pompeium; ergo datur purgatorium.*

Objection answered. Bread is less perfect than a worm; Christ's body therefore cannot be bread. We must here distinguish between formal and essential predication. Christ's body is essentially, not formally, less perfect than a worm.

Sed obicitur, quod idem sequitur contra me; ut puta, S. quod corpus Christi sit naturaliter imperfeccius verme; et sic de aliis inconvenienciis reducendis, quia panis ille qui est corpus Christi est huiusmodi. Sed hic notanda est super equivocacionem distinccio inter predicacionem formalem et essencialem; et tunc conceditur pro illa pane, quod corpus Christi est essencialiter sed non formaliter inperfeccius quam vermis, et sic Christus est inperfeccius, sed non in | perfeccior quam est serpens; A 106[d] sicut conceditur quod corpus Christi est inequale patri, quia caro assumpta, et tamen Christus est equalis patri, quia eadem natura. Verum tamen est magna diversitas utrobique; nunquam autem debet concedi quod corpus Christi sit accidens vel inperfeccius substancia.

So for the sophism, concluding that the Host consecrated in England is the Host consecrated in France.

Answer: The Host is the Host in both countries: therefore both should love each other.

Et sic respondetur ad tales paralogismos: *Omne corpus Christi est hostia consecrata in Anglia; omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est corpus Christi,* ergo *omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est hostia consecrata in Anglia;* et sic quelibet pars hostie foret totum. Ad talia, inquam, comenta laboramus, sed ad concordandum gentes et regna omittimus! Conclusio tamen, sequens ex premissis in Barbara, foret ista: corpus Christi, quod est omnis hostia consecrata in Francia est hostia in Anglia; quod concedendo debemus reducere populum unius dominii ad fraternam caritatem. | B 113[c]

10. corpus AB; Christus CD. 11. Christus *deest omnes MSS.* 10. in utrobique D. 14, 15. corpus — est *deest* BCD. 19. omnis *deest* BCD. 20. Francia — Anglia *deest* BCD.

25. The devil, according to Wyclif, was bound for the first 1000 years after Christ; so he divides the doctors into those of the second millenary, when (Rev. XX, 3, 7) the devil was loosed (15[th] Chapter), and those (16[th] Chapter) who wrote before that time, and consequently had more authority.

CAPITULUM SEDECIMUM.

Eleven more testimonies remain to be sifted.

Superest una undena de millenario Christi pro supradicta sentencia allegata, scilicet Rabanus, Beda, Johannes Damascenus, Gregorius, Augustinus, Ambrosius, Eusebius, Isidorus, Ignacius et Dyonisius, Jeronimus.

I. Raban Maur, though he affirms absolute accidents, is not a faithful witness;

for he says elsewhere that the Sacrament is rightly called bread and wine.

Rabanus autem videtur dicere, accidencia in sacramento manent sine subiecto; sed principium debet esse testi fideli. quod non variet in eadem materia, contrarius sibi ipsi; quia ut sic foret testis patris mendacii. Rabanus autem dicit, ut allegavi superius, libro 5to de A 107^a naturis rerum capitulo XI°. "Igitur," inquit, "quia | panis corpus confirmat, ideo illa corpus congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem, quia sangwinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sangwinem Christi refertur." Melius igitur foret concordare doctores, dicendo quod post consecracionem sacramentum non remanet principaliter panis, cum sit quodammodo corpus Christi.

II. I will not believe that Bede contradicts Scripture, the Fathers, and himself.

A passage of Bede quoted,

Quantum ad testimonium Bede, possunt credere qui voluerint, quod asseruit contrarie fidei scripture, sanctis doctoribus, eciam sibi ipsi, quod non remanet panis post consecracionem; sed non est michi evidens quod sic fecit. Nam super illo Joh. I^o^ "Videt Johannes Jesum (Jo. I, 29) venientem ad se", sic scribet et legitur in ecclesia, dominica infra octavas ephifanie: "non solum," inquit, "lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sangwine suo, quando sangwinem suum dedit in cruce pro nobis, vel quando unusquisque nostrum ministerio sacrosancte passionis sue baptismi aqua ablutus est; verum eciam quotidie tollit peccata mundi lavatque nos a peccatis nostris B 113^e^ quotidie in sangwine | suo, cum eiusdem beate passio-

1. Capitulum *deest omnes MSS*. 6. dicere quod CD. 9. patri BCD; *corr.* A. 11. quod C. 22, 23. Jesum se *deest* D.

11. Raban Maur, De Universo, l. V, c. 11 Migne, t. 111, p. 136.

nis ad altare memoria replicatur, et panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sangwinis eius ineffabilis spiritus sanctificacione transfertur; sicque corpus et sangwis illius non infidelium manibus ad perniciem ipsorum funditur et occiditur, sed fidelium ore suam sumitur in salutem".

in which we must note that he makes no mention of the destruction of substance, but says: the creature *of bread* . . . . becomes Christ's body.

Ex isto textu | doctoris videtur primo, quod utitur A 107^b B. construccione intransitiva et predicacione ydemptica, quando dicitur quod panis creatura transfertur in sacramentum carnis et sangwinis Jesu Christi; hoc est: creatura que est panis et vinum, fit sacramentum carnis et sanguinis salvatoris. Non autem loquitur de translacione qua substancia panis destruitur vel deterioratur, sicut sacerdotes ydolorum dicunt nobiles suos dupliciter mortuos translatos in societatem deorum; sed quodammodo, sicut corpus translatum in gloriam fit corpus nobilius, sic corpus quod ante consecracionem pure est panis, fit et est per consecracionem quodammodo corpus Christi. Et sic non remanet post consecracionem principaliter pure panis. Hoc autem est melius quam inducere repugnanciam in doctorem.

If not understood thus, he contradicts himself; which ought not to be admitted.

III. John Damascenus, who is said to affirm the non-permanence of the bread, is absolutely of *my* mind.

Quo ad tercium testem, scilicet Johannem Damascenum, cui imponitur quod non remanet panis post consecracionem, manifestum est ex dictis, quod ipse expresse testatur nostram sentenciam. Ponit enim in sentenciis suis, libro tercio, capitulo 84, "quem ad modum in baptismo conswetudo est hominum aqua lavari et oleo ungi, coniugavit eis deus graciam spiritus sancti, et fecet ipsum lavacrum | regeneracionis; sic, B 114^a quia consuetudo est hominum panem comedere, et vinum et aquam bibere, coniugavit ipsis deus sui ipsius divinitatem et fecit ipsa corpus et sangwinem | sui ipsius: A 107^c ut per consweta secundum graciam fiamus". Ecce quod panis fiet, et per consequens erit, corpus Christi, et sic non destruetur sed perficietur per mutacionem supernaturalem. Nec scivit Scotus aut alii capitanei sectarum invenire calumpniam in hiis dictis, nisi quia ponit

For he says, God has *joined to the bread* His own divinity.

Thus the bread is not destroyed, but perfected.

All that Scotus could say of this is that it points to transsubstantiation;

8. et *deest* AB. 9, 10. in sacramentum in C.

26. Jo. Damasc. De Fide Orth., l. IV, c. 13 (Migne, t. 94, p. 1142, series Graeca). St. John Damascenus seems to express himself here and elsewhere in a manner which agrees with Wyclif's view; and St. Thomas' explanation of the text (Summa Th. 3ª Pars, quaest. LXXV, art. II) appears to be rather strained.

transsubstanciacionem: ponit eciam quod sacramentum illud non est antitipus vel umbra, sed presencialiter corpus Christi. Hec tamen debet intelligi, quod sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi, nec adversarii dicant de suo accidente; nam secundum eos hoc sacramentum est duo res, et earum utraque, licet equivoce: quia illud quod in natura sua fuit ante consecracionem, quod est essencialiter, et illud quod est post consecracionem scilicet corpus Christi, quod est supernaturaliter ad sensum equivocum. Hoc enim concedit tam generacio signa querencium, quam eciam filii ecclesie, qui concedunt quod sacramentum est secundum naturam panis et vinum. Si igitur secundum Ambrosium, et autorem "De divinis officiis" eius discipulum, sacramentum non sit post consecracionem principaliter duo corpora, sed solummodo corpus Christi, patet quod per idem non est due res sed solummodo corpus Christi; et, cum ydemptificacio ac impanacio non sit possibilis, non superest eis alius sensus, nisi quod sacramentum sit solummodo principaliter vel supernaturaliter corpus Christi. Et sic oportet intelligi quod accidencia que non sunt sacramentaliter corpus Christi remaneant, et B 114[b] quod panis secundum esse pa | nis principaliter vel supernaturaliter non remanet. Et iste videtur sensus ecclesie, dicentis accidencia remanere sine subiecto, ut A 107[d] fides locum habeat | et sensus a decepcione immunes reddantur. Fides autem habet locum, quando, loco consideracionis quidditatis panis, occupatur anima circa consideracionem corporis Christi; et sensus a decepcione immunes redduntur, quando indicant essenciam esse albam, sapidam, duram vel aliter accidentatam: nam cognoscere quiditatem panis est accio intellectus. Et cum sit verum quod illa essencia est sic accidentata, patet quod sensus verum iudicans non in hoc decipitur, cum vere concipit essenciam esse huiusmodi, quod eadem essencia vere est.

for the Sacrament is 'not a type nor a shadow'.

It is partly what it was before and partly what it is after consecration: all parties must hold this.

If therefore after consecration there are not two bodies, but one, and impanation or identification is impossible, then the substance of bread must be there.

Faith frees our senses from error by contemplating, instead of the essence of bread, Christ's body. And the sense, judging of the essence as being white, round, &c., is not deceived.

D. Sed dubitatur utrum debet concedi simpliciter quod sacramentum sit tantummodo corpus Christi; et videtur, iuxta exponentes, ut tactum est, quod hoc debet concedi simpliciter cum panis ille sit corpus Christi, et non sit aliud quam corpus Christi, nec sit illud quod

May we grant that the sacrament is only Christ's body? Yes, for the bread is that, and nothing else.

3, 4. Hec — Christi *deest* BCD. 4. dicant C. 15. principaliter duo corpora *deest* CD. 16, 17. Christi, patet — solummodo corpus Christi *deest* AB. 31. non C. 33. est sic accidentata *deest* D. 35. vere A. 37. modo *deest* BCD.

non est corpus Christi. Et eadem est difficultas contra illos qui ponunt sacramentum altaris esse accidens, utrum illud sit solummodo corpus Christi. Ideo notandum quod in istis laboratur in equivocis; nam, intelligendo esse analogice ad esse ydempticum et esse figurativum, concedendum videtur cum Ambrosio et autore De divinis officiis, quod sacramentum sit solum corpus Christi. Et licet per idem sit solum terrena substancia, tamen nomen dignius acceptatur et nomen inferius religiose suspenditur. Et ita conceditur cum autore, quod sacramentum sit | equivoce utraque istarum duarum substanciarum. | A 108ᵛ B 114ᶜ

Thus the Sacrament is both bread and Christ's body, in two distinct senses.

Sed difficultas manens doctoribus ad glosandum Damascenum stat in isto quod ipse ponit panem et vinum transsubstanciari. Ista, inquiunt, transsubstanciacio, cum sit motus realis, requirit aliquid generari et aliud corrumpi. Corruptum autem non est fingendum, nisi essencia panis secundum se totam destruatur. Sed, ut sepe dictum est, illi nimis subtiliant de motu, quem ponunt motum realem et nichil illo moveri; sufficit, inquam, ad illum motum miraculosum, quod terminus *a quo* sit exclusio cuiuscunque corporis per datum locum preter nudam existenciam panis, et terminus *ad quem* sit principalitas existencie corporis Christi per eundem locum vel forma secundum quam panis denominatur formaliter esse corpus Christi.

The adversaries' arguments.

A real change implies generation and corruption: which require destruction of the bread.

But I mean by transsubstantiation, a change from *the exclusion of anything but bread,* to *the coexistence of Christ.*

Et ista videtur esse sentencia illius subtilis philosophi et magni theologi magistri Ursonis in libro suo "de mixtionibus elementorum", ubi capitulo tercio declarans materiam primam ante tempora extitisse, ponit eam inter aliquam substanciam et nullam: "cum", inquit, "omnis substancia substet accidentibus, nec accidencia possunt esse sine suis subiectis. Cum enim aliquid yle non poterit dici accidentibus subiectatum, non

Urso seems to be of the same opinion when he says that accidents require subjects;

7. solummodo C. 14. hoc C. 16. aliquid ACD. 27. esse *deest* BCD; *ib.* subtilis *deest* CD. 33, 34. aliud yle ACD; aliud universale B.

16. *Motus* is generally taken by Scholastics in the wide sense of *change*. Aristotle, enumerating seven sorts of movement, counts alteration and variation amongst them. 28. See p. 134, note. 34. *Yle* means, in Aristotelian philosophy, the material cause of anything (ὕλη, wood); it here means the primal matter underlying substantial changes.

potest dici substancia". Et infra, capitulo 8°, ponit sepe quod unum elementum transsubstanciatur in aliud; ideo manifestum est, cum ponit in omni tali genera- A 108b cione materialem essenciam remanere, | quod non fuit intencionis sue dicere motum illum transsubstanciacionis non esse in aliquo subiective.

and when he speaks of one element being transsubstantiated into another.

E. Et ista videtur esse sentencia beati Isidori in ser- B 114d mone de corpore et san | gwine Christi, qui sermo sic incipit: "*Magnitudo celestium beneficiorum et angustias humane mentis excedit.*" "Tibi," inquit, "impossibile esse non debet quod in Christi substanciam terrena et mortalia commutentur." Et declarat illud per exemplum notabile. "Te ipsum," inquit, "qui iam in Christo renatus es, interrogo, dudum alienus a vita, peregrinus a misericordia, a salutis via intrinsecus mortuus exulabas; subito iniciatus Christi legibus et salutaribus misteriis innovatus, in corpus ecclesie, non vivendo sed credendo transisti, et de filio perdicionis adoptivus dei fieri occulta potestate meruisti in mensura visibili permanens; maior factus es te ipso invisibiliter, sine quantitatis augumento, cum idem atque ipse esses multo aliter fieri fidei processibus meruisti. In exteriori nichil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est; ac si homo Christi filius effectus, et Christus in hominis mente formatus est. Sic igitur sine corporali sensu, peccati vilitate deposita, subito novam indutus es dignitatem. Et sicut hoc quod in te deus lesa curavit, in- A 108c fecta diluit, maculata | detersit, non oculis, sed sensibus sunt credita; ita et cum reverendum altare cibis saciandus ascendis, sacram dei tui corpus et sangwinem fide respice, honora, mirare, mente continge, manu cordis suscipe, et maxime gustu interiori assume." Sive autem iste sermo fuerit Ambrosii sive Ysidori, sive B 115a Eusebii, cum fuerint una fistula spiritus sancti, | manifestum est, quod exemplo docent supradictam sentenciam, cum aliter forent inpertinencia, quod pius non diceret. Unde sequitur in eodem sermone: "Adverte quam evidenter constet vini creaturam Christi sangui-

So does Isidorus.

Quotations from this author.

It is evident that the Holy Ghost dictated these expressions.

I. ponitur BCD. 7. esse *deest* C. II. iuxta D. 14. interroga ACD; *ib.* peregrinis AC. 15. anima *pro* a misericordia D. 17. innovatis BC. 22. aliter CD. 27. sic A. 29, 30. sacandis ostendis BCD. 30. sacram A; sacramentum BCD; *ib.* cui *omnes MSS.* 31. honore BCD. 34. fuerit A. 35. exempla BCD. 38. constat B; *ib.* sanguinem *deest* BCD.

9. Isid. *ubi supra.* Migne, t. 83, p. 1225.

If wine should be called Christ's blood, then it is so.

nem nuncupandam." Nec dubium quin panis et vinum non forent nuncupanda caro Christi et sangwis, nisi forent huiusmodi, cum religio Christiana odit mendacium.

The four great Doctors' authority alleged.

Sed post istos allegantur quatuor magni doctores; certum est tamen quod licet accusentur a scandalisantibus fratres suos, dicunt tamen concorditer nostram senten-

Ambrose seems against me in only two passages.

ciam. Quantum autem ad beatum Ambrosium non sunt F.
ultra duo loca, in quibus videtur contrariari nostre sentencie; primo in libro suo de sacramentis. Et ponitur, de consecracione, distinccione 2ª; ut sepe reppecii.

"What *was* bread, *is* now Christ's body."

"Quod erat panis," inquit, "ante consecracionem, iam corpus Christi est per consecracionem". Secundo dicit Ambrosius, et ponitur secundum partem in eadem distinccione. "Si," inquit, "vis tanta est in sermone domini Jesu, ut incipiant esse que non erant; quanto

And again "Christ's word can make what *was* to be *other* than it was."

magis | operatorius est ut sint que erant et in aliud A 108[d]
commutentur. Celum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem; *ipse dixit et facta sunt.* Igitur ut respondeam tibi: non erat corpus Christi ante consecracionem sed post consecracionem, dico tibi, quia iam panis corpus Christi est, *ipse dixit et factum est, ipse mandavit et creatum est;* tu ipse eras, sed non eras, vetus creatura. Postea quam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cepisti. Vis scire, quia nova creatura igitur didicisti, quod ex pane fit corpus Christi et quod aqua et vinum in calicem | mittitur, sed fit sangwis B 115[b]

These passages seem but are not contrary; witness the Church's decree against Berengarius.

consecracione verbi celestis." Nisi, inquam, ista duo dicta beati Ambrosii sint contra nostram sentenciam, nulla penitus sunt sibi contraria. Et pro tollenda ista contrarietate invoco in testem decretum ecclesie contra Berengarium, quod quilibet gramaticus potest ut fidem sibi construere.

And Jerome teaches that the word Hoc, spoken by Christ, means bread.

Quantum ad beatum Jeronimum, notum est quod ipse eodem spiritu docet eandem sentenciam; unde epistola ad Elbidiam, ut supra exposui, docet quod panis demonstratur pro nomine proposicionis sacramentalis: et certum est quod illud demonstratum fit virtute Christi caro et sangwis eius. Aliter enim foret sacra-

13. post CD. 23. et ipse D. 24. postquam BCD. 27. sit AB. 33. sibi *deest* CD. 36. dicitur *pro* docet *in marg.* A. 38. sit D.

12. Ambr. De Sacramentis, l. IV, c. 4 (Migne, t. 16, p. 440).
34. Jer. Ep. ad Hedibiam, c. II. Migne, t. 22, p. 986.

mentalis proposicio nimis falsa: quod esset blasfemiam G. defendere. Ideo sepe confessus sum quod idem corpus Christi in numero, quod fuit assumptum de virgine, quod A 109a passum est in cruce, quod pro sancto | triduo iacuit mortuum in sepulcro, quod die tercia resurrexit, quod post 40a dies ascendit in celum, et quod sedet perpetuo ad dexteram dei patris; ipsum inquam idem corpus, et eadem substancia, est vere et realiter panis sacramentalis vel hostia consecrata, quam fideles senciunt in manibus sacerdotum. Cuius probacio est, quod Christus qui mentiri non potuit nec potest sic asserit. Non tamen audeo dicere, quod corpus Christi sit essencialiter, substancialiter, corporaliter vel ydemptice ille panis; ymo sicut corpus Christi extensum est ille panis, sed ipsum corpus non est extense vel dimensionaliter ille panis, sic dicendum est cum aliis adverbiis essencie, substancie et corporis. Ista autem adverbia vere et rea- B 115c liter, cum sunt adverbia transcendencia, dicunt | modum essendi analoicum quo Christus est ille panis. Unde, ad tollendum istam ydolatriam atque blasfemiam, dicit Augustinus, ut recitatur in de consecracione distinccione 2a, capitulo, *non hoc*, "corpus ipsum et non ipsum." Ipsum, inquam, corpus Christi secundum sacramentalem figuram manducaturi sunt fideles et non ipsum secundum sui naturam.

Christ's body is really and truly the Sacramental Bread; though not essentially, substantially, corporally, identically; extensionally or dimensionally.

Augustine's teaching.

Unde in tanta equivocacione laborat sophista dyabolus quod seducit ecclesiam cum adverbiis modorum, quod possunt determinare nomen corporis sacrificii secundum sui naturam, vel nomen corporis Christi secundum sui naturam. Et sic, sumendo corpus Christi A 109d equivoce pro substancia, | que est ydemptice Christus ipse, vel pro substancia panis, ut figurat sacramentaliter ipsum corpus; ut videtur beatus Jeronimus dicere de consecracione, distinccione 2a capitulo "*Dupliciter*": sic, inquam, concederet equivocans quod corpus Christi est substancialiter ille panis; et quod corpus Christi plurificatur et extenditur, sicut ille hostie. Et ita videtur loqui decretum Nicolai secundi.

These adverbs, being transcendental, are equivocal. Taking the body of Christ *as substance*, it might be thought that it was bread substantially; which it is not.

3. Christi *deest* CD. 5. mortuum *deest* B. 19. analogum BCD. 28. deteriorare BD. 29, 30. vel — naturam *deest* D.

34. Decr. Grat. 3a Pars, Dist. II, c. 49.

I choose to understand now in one sense, now in another, the texts that seem against me.

Ego autem teneo sentenciam, et propter periculum vario in logica cum baptista; et sic gloso dicta que videntur contraria ut quando dicitur quod corpus Christi videtur oculo corporali, frangitur et movetur quomodocunque sacramentum movetur, intelligitur de sacramento quod est corpus Christi. Et sic intelligitur illud sermonis Eusebii: "his", inquit. "et aliis, si plures sint signacionibus conservatis, conservetur eciam fides quo ad domini corpus. Ipsum vero non qualitative sed substancialiter creditur, ut quod ipsa veritas omnino verum esse testatur; nostra fallacia falsum aut ymaginarium esse non | opinetur." Illud autem "substancia- B 115[d]
liter" refertur ad substanciam sacramenti; quod si per inpossibile foret qualitas per se, tunc corpus Christi foret ipsum qualitative, sed servando fidem verbi dei teneamus quod panis ille est vere corpus Christi. Nam deus et anima substancialiter sunt per loca multa, quia habent esse spirituale, cui non repugnat, in quantum sunt id quod sunt, esse essencialiter per loca multa. Sed, cum non stat corpus esse nisi sit corporaliter et dimensionaliter replens | locum, et repugnat quod simul A 109[c]
repleat dimensionaliter multa loca, ut patet in materia de multiplicacione; ideo repugnat idem corpus esse sic substancialiter per multa loca, quia in quantum substancia illius generis, si replet unum locum sibi adequatum, hoc deest a quocunque loco alio; ideo potest corpus multiplicari secundum alios modos essendi ut virtualem et sacramentalem; non autem secundum modum substancialem vel corporalem, quo ad naturam propriam.

Thus I explain the word 'substancialiter' of Eusebius to mean that Christ is not present as a quality.

A body must fill space in a corporeal and extended way; so if it is in one place it cannot be in another.

By this reason Augustine proves that body cannot become spirit.

Et hec racio Augustini, quare quodlibet corpus potest mutari in quodlibet, sed non corpus in spiritum; et super isto errore fundantur secte erronee de multiplicacione. Sicut enim spiritus non potest extendi per locum, sic corpus non potest esse non extensum. Quantum ad beatum Augustinum, ubi dicitur in quo- H.
dam loco intitulato *heretice;* "noli timere asserere quod panis transit et non remanet post consecracio-

As for the words of Augustine, which explicitly say that the bread does not remain, he may have erred.

2. loyca AB. 6. corporis Christi B. 9. que BCD. 11. ut *pro* aut CD. 35. ubi *deest* BCD.

2. Wyclif, laying himself open to the charge of inconsistency, alludes to John Baptist, who baptized Christ after refusing to do so, and was right in both cases. 31. Aug. De Genesi, l. VII, c. 12, 21. Migne, t. 34, p. 362, 365.

nem"; possunt credere qui voluerint, illa fuisse verba Augustini, quia possibile est quod errasset. quod opinative locutus fuisset; vel quod nobis ignorantibus equivocasset. B 116[c] Non est autem bonum mentiri super sanctos | ad eorum scandalum. Ideo cum beatus Augustinus dicit expresse quod accidens non potest esse sine subiecto, sicut exemplificat de quantitate; ut patet De quantitate anime capitulo 4°; ille autem liber est notorie Augustini, ut patet in libro Retraccionum; illi libro et verbis suis A 109[d] in illo debemus credere specialiter, cum librum | illum diligenter retractat, nec errorem illum de impossibilitate accidencium sine subiecto revocat; que negligencia in tanto philosopho tantum cavente periculum in fide non est faciliter supponenda. Supposito igitur de possibili quod ista erant verba Augustini tunc pium videtur ipsum sane intelligere isto modo quod panis vel substancia panis transit in consecracione non ad forum sed in corpus Christi, hoc est, fit et est corpus Christi per consecracionem; et sic non remanet pure panis cum sit per consecracionem corpus Christi. Sic enim loquitur magister Augustini Ambrosius.

But as he says elsewhere, in an authentic work, that accidents cannot be without their subjects, we must either explain these words or say they are spurious, or that he is inconsistent.

Et quantum ad beatum Gregorium in sermone de solemnitate paschali ut recitatur de consecracione distinccione 2[a], capitulo *"Species et similitudo"*, ubi videtur dicere quod sacramentum altaris sit species panis aut vini, conceditur quod in predicacione secundum subiectum, substancia panis et vini vere est Ecclus. XLIV, 17 species panis et vini; sicut sacerdos magnus "in tempore iracundie factus est reconciliacio." Et signanter substancia panis vocatur illo nomine quod oportet esse in memoria quo ad sensum. Responsio autem illorum qui in isto coniciunt quod species panis sit accidens sine subiecto, est responsio ignari sophiste et heretici ydyote. Et patet, quomodo isti quatuor doctores intellecti A 110[a] catholice. sicut debent, non faciunt pro magnificacione | accidencium sine subiecto, nec quod panis non re-B 116[b] manet | corpus Christi, sed docent directe contrarium. Quo ad Eusebium et Isidorum patet ex dictis, quomodo ipsi militant pro nostra parte contrarii parti

Gregory mentions the *appearance* of bread; but we may say that the appearance of bread is bread; as an abstract noun may mean its corresponding concrete.

It is clear that these doctors, rightly understood, are not in favour of the 'accident' doctrine.

Eusebius and Isidorus again examined.

4. fratres *pro* sanctos A. 5. expresse *deest* BCD. 7. ut — quantitate *deest* CD. 10. in illo *deest* CD. 16. sane ipsa BCD. 17. de focis B. 18. et est *deest* AB. 21. Augustinus *omnes MSS.* 26. concedetur D.

8. Aug. Retr., l. I, c. 8. Migne, t. 32, p. 594. 24. Decr. Grat. 3[a] Pars, Dist. II, c. 34.

adverse. Et patet sentencia Eusebii de consecracione distinccione 2^{a} capitulo *"Quia corpus assumptum"*, ubi repetitur sentencia supradicta beati Ysidori. Quo I.

Ignatius and Dionysius, since neither employs the term 'accident' cannot be quoted.

ad beatum Ignacium et Dyonisium patet quod non faciunt pro illa sentencia, cum illi sint autores qui, ut scripture, raro vel nunquam locuntur de nomine accidentis. Sed postquam invaluit opinio de terrenis diviciis, que possunt dici alienissime homini accidere, tunc invaluit error, quo generacio signorum gravi corde nititur trahere corpus domini, quod sursum est, secundum suam substanciam, versus terram. Sed Paulus dicit econtra: "Que sursum sunt, querite"; sic igitur si istis XI^{cim} testibus adiunctus fuerit ille magnus

If we add to these eleven last witnesses Christ and St. Paul, their agreement will be perfect.

philosophus sanctus, Urso et testes illi examinati fuerint secundum regulas scripture, dirigente Christo 13mo "in quo clamamus: abba pater"; perfectus foret conventus testium. Paulus enim dicit, quod accepit sensum istum a domino, quod "dominus Jesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, benedixit et fregit", precepit quoque manducare ex illo omnes, quia ipsum est corpus suum: "probet", inquit, "se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat". Ubi | non dubium, non valet simulacio

I. Cor. XI, 23, 24

A 110^{b}

Paul's account of the bread broken, &c. differs completely from the 'accident' theory of the moderns.

Magog, quod Christus sic sophisticatus est: accepit verum panem, cuius substanciam benedixit, quo subtracto fregit abiectum | accidens sine subiecto, et precepit manducari ex illo accidente, cum ipsum, non substancia panis, sit corpus Christi. Revera non solum testimonia sanctorum, sed ingenium naturale horreret istam perfidiam.

B 116^{c}

Christ, taking the true substance of bread, made it His body.

Sicut igitur veram substanciam panis accepit, benedixit, fregit et manducare precepit, sic eandem substanciam fecit corpus suum et ad illam substanciam refert apostolus, quando dicit quod homo probatus in fide sua de pane illo edat.

The Apostle's evidence is of most value.

Et hoc dictum unicum quod Christus loquitur in suo apostolo, valet plus quam quotquot duodene huiusmodi.

Three sorts of evidence:
a) That of faith and internal light, the best.

Constat autem quod triplex est evidencia vel argumentum quo cognoscitur veritas, scilicet evidencia fidei per internum illapsum veritatis, que de se illuminat intellectum; et ista est evidencia prima et certissima, ita quod excedit omnem demonstracionem philosophicam; quod si fides

5. qui, ut *deest omnes MSS.* 13. testibus *deest* CD. 14. sanctus *deest* B. 22. quod non BCD. 38. elapsum B. itaque CD.

2. Decr. Grat. 3^{a} Pars. Dist. II, c. 35.

scripture sic asserit ergo verum. In hoc tamen possunt esse equivocaciones, cum dyabolus potest seducere mendaces in antecedente, fallendo quod scriptura sacra dicit multa que non dicit. Ideo oportet fidem que est datrix muneris esse principium nostre intelleccionis, nec oportet ultra eius certitudinem querere ulteriorem.

Though here too may be snares, making Scripture say what it does not.

A 110[c] Sed illa fide habita | facile est respondere argumentis dyaboli et dare pie querentibus fidei racionem; hoc enim docet Petrus fideles et specialiter sacerdotes debere facere, licet secta Machometi et Sergii mandent contrarium. Nam fides nostra est tam firma et in-

B 116[d] fringibilis, quod de quanto plus modeste terretur, de | tanto plus rutilat, micans fidelibus; ymo ipsa fides

Hebr. XI, 11 non est qualitas, sed "substancia rerum sperandarum, argumentum non apparencium". Ipsa autem substancia est fundamentum primum, quo aliud nemo potest ponere, cum sit realiter verbum dei. Ipsum enim est essencialiter veritas credita, et per consequens substancia beatitudinis et aliorum insensibilium sperandorum; nec solum se habet ut causa materialis vel obiectiva, sed ut causa efficiens evidenciam vel motiva ad noscendum tales veritates absconditas; ideo signanter dicit apostolus Hebr. XI°, quod illa fides est argumentum non apparencium; hoc est, insensibilium lumine naturali.

But we can answer the Devil's arguments with sound reasons.

For our faith is firm.

It has the surest foundation, the Word of God.

K. Secunda est evidencia demonstrativa, que procedit ex veritatibus prioribus et nocioribus, concludendo veritatem minus cognitam. Est autem multiplex demonstracio secundum logicos, vel ostensiva, vel ducens ad impossibile, que tenet per veritatem implicitam. Et est demonstracio ostensiva, vel propter quid, que vocatur potissima, vel

A 110[d] demonstracio; quia que procedit a | posteriori in natura ad eius causam natura priorem, licet sit arguenti minus nota. Quedam eciam est demonstracio universalis et quedam particularis, quedam affirmativa, et quedam negativa, de quibus logici intromittunt. Sed tria sunt digna memoria theologo. Prima, quod ante talem demonstracionem fides presupponitur tanquam causa. Patet ex hoc, quod ante omnem demonstracionem presupponitur noticia, si est de subiecto. Nemo enim demonstrat aliquid de subiecto, nisi sciverit ipsum esse;

b) Evidence that comes from demonstration by natural principles. This is of many sorts: direct, indirect; *a priori*, *a posteriori*; universal, particular; affirmative, negative, &c. Three things to be noted by theologians: 1[st] that every demonstration implies faith; for it implies a subject, which can be known only by faith.

2. esse *deest* CD. 10. mandet AB. 12. territur *omnes MSS.* 16. qua A. 23. ad hebreos BCD. 31. vocantur AB.

sed cum non possit haberi no | ticia de subiecto, nisi B 117[a] per fidem, patet conclusio. Et in signum istius nemo cognoscit litteras vel aliquid, nisi crediderit, iuxta illud Ysaie VII°: "Nisi credideritis, non permanebitis." (Is. VII, 9)

2[nd] That every truth can be proved *a posteriori* by the trinity of the soul.

Secunda conclusio: Omnis veritas poterit demonstrari ex trinitate anime *a posteriori;* et hoc est veritas difficillima ad demonstrandum, ergo etc. Iterum ista veritas: Nichil simul est et non est, potest negari, sicut patet 4° Methaphysice; sed illi insipientes possunt manuduci in eius noticiam per veritatem posteriorem: ergo illa veritas potest quoddammodo demonstrari, et negans illam esse demonstracionem abutitur terminis. Nam eque fortiter ex eque necessariis plus nobis notis, potest conclusio talis eque cognita inferri; sicut philosophus naturalis infert ex antecedente suo primum motorem esse; quare ergo foret unum de necessario et non | reliquum? A 111[a]

3[rd] That the faithful need no demonstration as to Catholic truth; it hinders spiritual progress.

Tercia conclusio: sufficit fideli quamcunque veritatem katholicam sine demonstracione ex fide accipere. Patet sic: Quecunque veritas potest sic accipi facilius, minus retardando viantes a moribus; cum igitur viacio secundum se requiritur et sufficit, patet conclusio. Et hinc, dimissa contencione circa essencialem quidditatem sacramenti altaris, concedo quod est quodammodo corpus Christi, et est natura sua panis quem frangimus, ut dicit apostolus 1[a] Cor. X. Illum autem panem vocat ecclesia terrenam substanciam, sicut et autor 'De divinis officiis". Alii autem vocant ipsum quantitatem, alii qualitatem, alii agregacionem accidencium; ut patet ex vanis ficticiis hodie ventilatis; de quibus | videtur michi probabilius B 117[b] quod sacramentum altaris sit forma panis aut vini transsubstanciati in corpus Christi vel sanguinem. Illam autem formam intelligo panem aut vinum, de quibus loquitur apostolus. Non autem videtur michi catholicum quod sit accidens sine subiecto; cum quelibet pars illius sacramenti sit subiecta accidenti, sive sit substancia sive quantitas. Ex quo patet quod corpus Christi sit subiectum cuilibet accidenti in hostia con- (L.)

Thus the dispute concerning the Sacrament can be closed: it is the Body of Christ, though by nature bread.

The most probable opinion is that the form of bread is changed into Christ's Body.

3. aliud B. 7. Item B; *ib.* vel A. 10. illa igitur C. 14. infertur D. 16. demonstracio A. 24. in natura BCD. 32. et BCD. 35. substancia A.

5. I can only understand this sentence by supposing Wyclif to mean that it can be proved that our soul is the image of the Trinity; and that, as all truth is in the latter, it is also in the former, as in its image.

secrata; quia illud sacramentum quod subicitur cuilibet huiusmodi accidenti; verumtamen corpus Christi non subicitur alicui eorum, nec informatur eorum aliquo, licet sit sacramentaliter illud quod sic informatur; sicut A 111b deitas est extensum, quia Christus, sed non | extenditur. In quibuscunque autem aliis difficultatibus huius materie doctus a quocunque volo humiliter stare decreto ecclesie, stante fide.

The third sort of evidence gives only probability. As when the form is perfect, but the premises doubtful.

Tercia autem evidencia est probabilis vel topica, sive fuerit quo ad materiam, sive quo ad formam. Quo ad materiam, sicut in sylogismis dyalecticis, ubi forma est absolute necessaria, sed antecedens est valde contingens, ut patet in isto: Omnis comptus est luxuriosus, Petrus est comptus, ergo Petrus est luxuriosus. Et ad illud genus evidencie reducuntur omnia argumenta topica, a testimonio humano; ut patet in probacionibus politicis et argumentis captis a testimonio doctorum, eciam quantumcunque sanctorum citra autores scripture, ut sepe docet Augustinus, sicut patet 9 distinccione . . . . . . Unde argumentum nude captum a testimonio talium doctorum, et multo magis ex testimonio Romane ecclesie, non sufficit per se hereticare quicquam, quia B 117c omnes illi possunt | decipi atque decipere, et sic contra dominum diffinire; ac successor katholicare quod predecessor hereticavit, et econtra. Ideo oportet recurrere ad fontem veritatis, scripturam sacram, et docere quod illa sentencia heretica sit sibi contraria et post auffugere mores heretici in effectu. Non autem constat ex scriptura, quod sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, sed contrarium; ideo nemo potest hereticare negativam eius, A 111c sed cum ipsa sit nota | impedire scolasticos ne amplius retractetur: credimus enim quod triplex est modus essendi corporis Christi in hostia consecrata, scilicet virtualis, spiritualis et sacramentalis. Virtualis, quo bene facit per totum suum dominium secundum bona nature vel gracie. Modus autem essendi spiritualis est, quo corpus Christi est in eukaristia et sanctis per graciam. Et tercius est modus essendi sacramentalis, quomodo corpus Christi est singulariter in hostia consecrata. Et

To this sort belong testimony, the Fathers and the decrees of the Church, which cannot give entire certitude

as Scripture can and does.

Thus even the agreement of the Fathers in favour of absolute accidents would not give certitude.

Christ has three modes of being in the Host: virtual, spiritual, and sacramental.

6. huiusmodi BCD; *corr.* A. 9. est *deest* AB. 10. fiunt B. 15. omnia *deest* CD. 38. est *deest* BCD; *ib.* modo *deest* B.

19. Decr. Grat. 1a Pars, Dist. IX . ., c. III. "Noli meis litteris quasi canonicis scripturis inservire, etc." Also c. V.

The second requires the first; the third, the second.

sicut secundus modus preexigit primum, ita tercius modus preexigit secundum: quia impossibile est prescitum carentem fide secundum iusticiam presentem conficere. Qui ergo credit, sive conficiat, sive non conficiat, manducavit, ut dicit Augustinus super Johanne omelia 25. Et ille modus essendi spiritualis est in anima verior, est eciam verior atque realior quam prior modus essendi, vel secundum membrum secundi modi essendi in hostia consecrata, cum sit per se causa illius modi, vel efficiens, vel finalis; et per se causa est magis ens suo causato. Modus autem essendi spiritualis quo corpus | Christi est in hostia, est modus verus et B 117[d] realis, cum autor muneris qui mentiri non potest, dixit; "Hoc est corpus meum", et reliquit suis sacerdotibus virtutem similiter faciendi. Hoc autem totum ex fide scripture colligitur; ideo Christus est specialiori modo in isto sacramento quam in aliis, cum sit | simul A 111[d] veritas et figura, non sunt autem sic alia sacramenta.

The second mode of being is more perfect than the first, being its final cause.

Three other modes of being that Christ's body has in Heaven: Substantial, corporeal, and extended being.

Some can conceive no other existence but this.

The two first are together in every bodily thing.

And these three modes, more real than the former three, are absent from the Sacrament.

Et patet iste miraculosus modus essendi sacramentalis; M. cultores autem signorum nesciunt fundare quod suum sacramentum sit tam realiter corpus Christi. Sed preter istos tres modos essendi corporis Christi, est dare tres alios modos essendi realiores et veriores, quos corpus Christi appropriate habet in celo, scilicet modus essendi substancialiter, corporaliter, et dimensionaliter. Et grosse concipientes non intelligunt alium modum essendi materialis substancie preter istos. Illi autem sunt valde indispositi ad concipiendum archana eukaristie et subtilitatem scripture; ideo dico illis quod duo modi priores in subiecto corporali coincidunt, nisi quod substancialiter consequitur corpus Christi in quantum substancia, et modus essendi corporalis consequitur corpus Christi secundum racionem qua corpus. Modus autem essendi dimensionalis consequitur ad duos priores, sicut passio ad subiectum, et quilibet istorum trium modorum est realior et causa prior quam priores. Nullo autem istorum modorum trium est corpus Christi in sacramento, sed in celo; quia tunc foret corpus Christi septipedale in hostia. Sicut ergo corpus Christi est illa hostia, sic est | B 118[a]

4. sive non, manducavit CD. 13. verus D. 15. virtutum *deest* BCD. 16. tollitur BCD. 18. pro sunt BCD. 22. tres *deest* D. 30. substancia BCD. 32. consequi B.

5. Aug. Tract. XXV. In Joh. Migne, t. 35, p. 1602.

substancialiter, corporaliter ibidem et dimensionaliter, attendendo ad modum hostie secundum naturam suam, et non attendendo ad corpus Christi secundum naturam A 112a suam, ut dictum est superius. Et ita | conceditur quod, sicut corpus Christi est substancia corporea in ipsa hostia, sic illo tercio modo est in illa hostia, sed non secundum racionem qua est corpus Christi. Et ita conceditur quod corpus Christi est quantumcunque varie quantificatum ibi, cum sit quelibet pars quantitativa illius hostie; et tamen non quantificatur aliqua huiusmodi quantitate. Et sic est varie magnum in diversis partibus illius hostie, sed non in se formaliter magnum aliqua tali magnitudine.

As Christ's body is the Host, it is substantially, corporally and dimensionally according to the Host's mode of existence. So it is corporally in the Host, but not *qua* Christ's body.

N. Sed ulterius notandum quod magna diversitas est in loco a testimonio, cum quilibet illorum quatuor magnorum doctorum valuerit mille de millenario sequenti in materia fidei. Obicitur tamen quod ipsi variarunt multipliciter in exposicione scripture, ut patet ex illo Luc. II, 35 Luc. IIº. "Tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius," ubi aliqui videntur dicere, quod beata virgo fuit in triduo percussa gladio infidelitatis: et alii contradicunt. Sed pro isto notandum quod sancti aliquid dicunt opinative sive probabiliter, et aliud asserunt supra opinionem tanquam fidem. In talibus autem sensibus scripturarum ambiguis tenuerunt se in specie opinionis quodlibet facere. Sed sepe contigit in hoc culpabiliter deficere, cum in penam peccati potest deficere sanctis spiritus consilii, quod longe crebrius contingit eciam de A 112b sectis in millenario | mendacii quam contigit de istis B 118b doctoribus. Ideo longe | minus credendum est illis, cum sint tam crebro contrarii sibi ipsis. Tercio contingit sanctos equivocare, sicut equivocamus communiter viva voce. Ut, "multitudo credencium" cuius "erat cor unum et anima una", potest dici habere animam unam, que sit tam Christi quam Marie, et illam animam pertransivit gladius infidelitatis secundum partem in triduo, licet beata virgo tunc in se servaverit fidem ecclesie sine culpa et pie dubitaverit de quibusdam.

Divergencies among the Doctors.

Even the early Fathers do not agree.

But they are far from taking a dogmatic tone when Scripture is not clear. This want of light sometimes comes from sin.

At times they understand scripture in two senses: thus. "The believers were *one heart* and *one soul*," can be understood differently.

Circa ipsam quidem, que cunctas hereses singulariter destruxit sunt contenciones sectarum inutiles, ut una

Useless questions raised as to the Blessed Virgin's, Conception, sinlessness, &c.

5. est *deest* AB. 6. est *deest* CD. 8. est *deest* B. 11. modi *deest* CD. 13. alia D. 15. quatuor *deest* BCD. 16. valuit BCD. 19. pertransivit AD. 21. contradicant A. 22. aliqui CD. 26. quod licet CD; *ib.* contingit CD.

dicit, quod fuit concepta in originali peccato, quod venialiter peccavit in triduo et quod fuit mortua in corpore; et alia secta frontose contrariatur.

Contrary positions as to the Sacrament.

That bread becomes Christ's body; that it does not.

That it becomes Christ's mystic body; that it is a pure accident.

That there is a subject of the accidents; that there is none.

Sed inanis est periculum in fide .prima quo viantes de via cito variantur. Ponunt enim fideles ecclesie quod panis verus fit et est per consecracionem corpus Christi; secte autem dicunt quod nullo modo potest esse ipsum corpus. Fideles dicunt quod ille panis habet similitudinem cum utroque corpore Christi, cum sit idem in genere cum corpore Christi vero et conficitur ut corpus Christi misticum; ideo Christus vere dicit quod est corpus suum. Sed secte dicunt quod unum accidens sine subiecto incognitum fit corpus Christi, quod inpossibile est Christum dicere. Fidelis dicit quod omne accidens in hostia consecrata subiectatur in pane qui est subiectum dignissimum; secte autem | fingunt, quod omne illud accidens sit sine A 112c substancia subiecta. Sed cum ista variacio sit sine fundamento, donent filiis ecclesie istam | iniuriam. B 118c

A conclusive argument. The Host cannot be an accident unless Christ said so: but Christ did not say so.

Racio autem quietans me in ista materia stat in isto. Hostia consecrata non foret accidens sine subiecto nisi Christus hoc diceret; sed Christus hoc non dixit, ergo hostia consecrata non est accidens sine subiccto. Maior patet ex hoc quod illud foret precipuum miraculum, quod non potest fieri, nisi Christus hoc dixerit. Omnis enim hostia consecrata est corpus Christi, ut hic supponitur. Et minor patet Augustino et aliis veritatem zelantibus, qui vident quod precipuum accidens non potest esse sine subiecto. Nec negabit sciolus deduccionem istam: Hoc sacramentum est corpus Christi et hoc sacramentum est hoc sacramentum accidens sine subiecto; igitur hoc sacramentum accidens sine subiecto est corpus Christi: et conversim. Nam premisse et termini eorum convertuntur. Et eadem est racio tropica vel figurativa concedendi quod illud accidens sacramentum sit corpus Christi, que foret racio concedendi quod illud sacramentum sit corpus Christi, cum sit idem; et utrobique est eadem racio veritatis.

Can an accident be by any means a *body*?

Objection: Is Christ's body in the Eucharist only in figure;

Sed multi mussitant super isto, quod sequitur ex O. ista sentencia, quod corpus Christi non sit in eukaristia

1 et *pro* quod C. 5. de viatico C 6—8. quod — dicunt *deest* BCD. 13. sit B. 27. per *pro* patet B. 34. eorum A.

aliter quam in signo. Sic autem est in ymagine crucifixi. Hic dicunt fideles quod corpus Christi non est in celo, vel humanitate assumpta aliter quam in signo, A 112d quia tunc aliter foret ibi quam in aliquo | signo; et cum utrumque istorum sit signum, foret aliter ibi quam foret ibi. Ideo dicunt quod licet corpus Christi non sit aliter in sacramento quam *in* signo, est tamen ibi aliter quam *ut* in signo. Nam sacramentum, in quantum huiusmodi, est signum; et humanitas Christi B 118r est signum, cum Luc. II° dicitur, quod "positus | est hic in ruinam et resurreccionem multorum, et *in signum* cui contradicetur." Et secunda pars conclusionis patet ex hoc quod alius est modus essendi signum corporis Christi et alius modus essendi vere et realiter, virtute verborum domini, corpus Christi. Conceditur tamen quod isti duo modi inseparabiliter concomitantur. Hoc tamen signum est infinitum prestancius quam signa corporis Christi in lege veteri, vel ymagines in lege nova, cum sit simul veritas et figura. Intelligo autem dicta mea in materia ista secundum logicam scripture, nec non secundum logicam sanctorum et decreti Romane ecclesie, quos suppono prudenter fuisse locutos. Non enim valet scandalisare tantam Romanam ecclesiam, quando dicit panem et vinum esse post consecracionem corpus et sangwinem Jesu Christi. Et, non obstante errore glosancium, ista fides mansit continue in ecclesia apud laycos. Cum ergo fidelis non optaret comedere corporaliter, sed spiritualiter corpus Christi, patet quod omnisciens aptavit illum modum A 113a spiritualem essendi corporis sui in hostia quo | debet comedi a fideli. Alium autem modum essendi, cum foret superfluus, abstrahebat. Unde infideles murmurant, vel cum illis qui abierunt retrorsum dicentes: "Durus hic est sermo", cum corpus Christi sit corporaliter manducandum; vel cum illis observatoribus legalium legis veteris, qui non putant esse prestanciorem gradum in signo eukaristie quam fuit in signis legis veteris, vel quam est insignis humanitus institutis. Et hii fingunt B 119a quod accidens potest fieri | corpus Christi, et quod melius ac planius dixisset Christus; hoc accidens sine subiecto signat corpus meum. Utraque autem istarum

as in the Crucifix, for instance?

Answer: Christ is in the Sacrament only in figure; but otherwise than *as* in figure.

The sign has one mode of being, and the reality that Christ's words produce has another.

These two modes are however inseparable. Reality and figure are together.

This is according to Scripture, the Saints' belief, and the decrees of the Roman Church.

Christ's body receives a spiritual mode of being; which was hard to believe for some, who therefore imagined their doctrine of accidents.

2. non est *deest* B. 11. et in B. 16. modi essendi CD. 21. sanctorum doctorum BCD. 24. qua A. 30. que A. 38. sit BCD.

sectarum ex ignorancia graduum in signis est infideli deterior.

Thus bread becomes and is Christ's body by a miracle. Not identically, as the unity of person in two natures, but as nearly as possible after. This avoids all inconvenience about the accidents.

Teneamus igitur quod virtute verborum Christi panis (P.) ille fit et est miraculose corpus Christi ultra possibilitatem signi ad hoc humanitus instituti. Verumtamen ista unitas vel unio sive accepcio non attingit ad unitatem ydempticam naturalem vel unionem ypostaticam; sed creditur quod sit immediate post illam. Et sic accidencia corporalia corporis Christi, ut quantitates et qualitates corporales corporis Christi, videntur non multiplicari concomitanter ad corpus Christi in hostia: et per idem alia accidencia respectiva que fundantur in istis: quia omnia ista accidencia preexigunt esse | (A 113b) corporale sui subiecti ubicunque fuerint; ut si hic sit septipedalitas, color vel gloria corporalis corporis Christi, tunc hic est, quod corpus Christi est septipedale, coloratum, et corporaliter glorificatum; et per consequens corpus Christi habet hic existenciam corporalem. Quod cum sit falsum, negandum est talia accidencia secundum condiciones materiales multiplicari concomitanter ad corpus Christi in hostia consecrata.

Thus the quantitative parts of Christ's body exist sacramentally in the Host; also the soul of Christ, but not so perfectly as in Heaven. Christ's soul is more Divine than His body.

Partes autem quantitative corporis Christi habent esse spirituale in hostia: ymmo habent esse sacramentale ibidem, cum sit quodammodo quelibet pars quantitativa ipsius hostie, et multo magis multiplicatur anima Christi per hostiam, secundum quoddam esse spirituale posterius quam est illud esse quod habet in corpore Christi in celo. Et | (B 119b) causa huius multiplicacionis anime Christi est, quod ipsa est principalius ipso corpore persona verbi. Qualitates autem immateriales, que subiectantur in anima Christi, commultiplicantur cum ipsa per hostiam, ut sciencia, iusticia et alie virtutes anime Christi, que non requirunt, ubicunque fuerint, Christi preexistenciam corporalem. Ipsa enim fuerunt cum Christo; quia cum eius anima in inferno, sicut per totam hostiam est Christus virtuosus, sic est per illam virtus Christi.

But as Christ's body is not there substantially, many religious persons adore it under condition; whilst idiots murmur, not granting it to be Christ's body.

Unde autor De divinis officiis opinatur quod, propter esse spirituale corporis Christi in hostia, est ibi concomitancia angelorum. Quia tamen | (A 113c) sophisticari potest ista oblacio ex defectu potestatis fidei et verborum presbiteri, ideo multi religiosi adorant condicionaliter hanc hostiam et in corpore Christi, quod substancialiter

5. ab D. 15. gla A; glossa BD. 30. materiales AB.

et infallibiliter sursum est, querendo celestia, sunt infallibiliter quietati. Sed ydyote remurmurant querentes quomodo corpus Christi est ille panis sanctus, cum non sint idem secundum substanciam vel naturam. Sed ipsos oportet addiscere fidem de incarnacione, quomodo due substancie vel nature valde differentes sunt idem suppositum, et tamen non sunt eedem, quia utraque earum est Christus: et tunc possunt a posteriori ascendere ad cognoscendum istam miraculosam unionem, servata utraque natura non ydemptificata verbo dei. Sed oportet ipsos cognoscere gradus in signis, et deponere infundabilem blasfemiam de fictis miraculis accidentis, et credere virtutem verborum Christi: et tunc possunt B 119c cognoscere, quomodo ille panis est bene, mi | raculose, vere, et realiter, spiritualiter, virtualiter et sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed grossi non contentantur de istis modis, sed exigunt quod panis ille nichil saltem per illum sit substancialiter et corporaliter corpus Christi; sic enim volunt zelo blasphemorum Christum comedere, sed non possunt.

If they knew the doctrine of the Incarnation, and how two natures can be identified in one person, they could see how two natures could be *all but* identified.

But their gross minds are thus driven to a blasphemous doctrine.

A 113d Adducitur autem pro hoc testimonium | Hugonis de Q. sancto Victore, libro 2°. De sacramentis parte 8va capitulo 7°. "Quemadmodum species illic cernitur, cuius res vel substancia ibi esse non creditur, sic res ibi realiter et substancialiter presens creditur, cuius species non cernitur." Quantum ad illum doctorem patet, quod ipse subtiliter inculcat katholicam sentenciam supradictam. Wult enim quod species sensibilis ibi cernitur, et quod illa species essencialiter sit panis et vinum; et quod eciam cernitur, licet per accidens. Ideo sepe vocat ipsam panem et vinum, que sunt alimenta solita, et principalis substancia alimenti: ut patet in dicto capitulo. Et capitulo sequenti. "*Illum autem panem*", dicit habere rem vel substanciam que creditur, non cernitur, cum sit corpus Christi.

Hugo of St. Victor's words concerning 'sensible appearance' confirm my doctrine.

Also those concerning 'the bread that has the substance believed, not seen'.

Sed pro adverbio "substancialiter" notandum, quod quandoque sumitur simpliciter pro modo substancie; sic quod idem sit corpus Christi esse ibi substancialiter et esse ibi modo substancie: et sic loquitur Hugo;

'Substantially' may mean *as a substance*, or *in the bodily essence, as such*.

8. eorum AB. 17. nihil *deest* B; vel *pro* nihil CD. 19. zelus CD. 21. per ABD. 22. beato A. 37. quandoque B.

21. Hugo a S^{to} Victore, De Sacram. l. II, pars 8^{a}, c. 7. Migne, t. 176, p. 466. 33. Hugo a S^{to} Vict. *ib. ubi supra.*

This explains a discrepancy, when Hugo says that we receive Christ corporally.

But 'the flesh', as such, 'profiteth nothing.' My way, the second, of understanding 'substantially,' is the right one. Thus Christ's body is ground between the teeth &c. in the symbol; not in its own nature, but in the nature of bread,

quandoque autem superaddit reduplicative racionem corporis in quantum *talis* substancia. Et sic proprie ego intelligo adverbia. Unde eodem capitulo dicitur quod corporaliter secundum corporis et sangwinis Christi virtutem Christum sumimus in altari. Quod oportet sic intelligi quod spiritualiter sumimus carnem Christi; et ille est verus modus corporis, licet | non sit modus consequens corpus in quantum corpus, quia Joh. | VI° dicit Christus: "Caro non prodest quicquam"; cum nec sentencia carnalis nec manducacio corporalis corporis domini quicquam prodest. Nam invisibiliter sumitur, quantum ad formam corporis sui, ut dicit doctor capitulo 3°, eiusdem partis, sed visibiliter quo ad substanciam sacramenti. Unde talis equivocacio facta est in adverbiis ad excellenciam eukaristie super figuras legis veteris declarandam. Nostra autem locucio est propria; quia aliter oportet concedere quod esse substancialiter sit esse accidentaliter, esse corporaliter sit esse spiritualiter, esse carnaliter sit esse virtualiter, et esse dimensive sit esse multiplicative: et periret modorum distinccio. Sicut igitur conceditur quod corpus Christi teritur in simbolis vel in hostia, et sentitur et tamen non sic movetur, quia non secundum naturam corporis Christi vel in quantum ipsum corpus; sic conceditur quod corpus Christi est in hostia modo accidentali substancie; quia modo spirituali et sacramentali, presupponente tres alios modos realiores ipsius corporis preexistere causative. Sic autem non fuit in figuris legis veteris vel signis legis nostre humanitus institutis.

B 119^d
A 114^a
Jo. VI, 64

Differences between this doctrine and that of the Sects.
1st The Sacrament, naturally bread, is sacramentally Christ's body.
2nd Therefore it is to be adored; but the Sects adore the accident as a *sign* of Christ's body.
Now God is everywhere more truly than Christ's body in the Host.

Et sic possunt distingwi modus prior quo est | in celo et modus posterior quo est in sacramento. Sic autem in tribus discrepamus a sectis signorum: primo in hoc quod ponimus venerabile sacramentum altaris esse naturaliter panem et vinum, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed secta contraria fingit ipsum | sacramentum esse unum ignotum accidens sine substancia subiecta. Et ex ista radice erroris pullulant nimis multe varietates errorum, ut secta nostra adorat sacramentum, non ut panis aut vini substanciam sed ut corpus Christi et sangwinem. Sed secta cultorum accidencium, ut credo, adorat hoc sacramentum, non

A 114^b
R.
B 120^a

25. in hostia *deest* D. 38. sine subiecto BCD.

ut est accidens sine subiecto, sed ut signum sacramentale corporis Christi et sangwinis. Signa autem cultus sui ostendunt quod adorant hoc sacramentum, cum adorant crucem et alias ymagines ecclesie, que habent minorem racionem adoracionis quam habet hoc venerabile sacramentum. Nam in qualibet substancia creata est deitas realius et substancialius quam corpus Christi est in hostia consecrata. Ideo, nisi ipsa fuerit virtute verborum Christi corpus suum, non est racio tante excellencie adorandi. Tercio, secta nostra, per equivocacionis deteccionem et aliarum fallaciarum, tollit argucias adversancium; ut aliqua loquuntur sancti de sacramento ut panis, et alia dicunt de illo non ut ydemptice, sed sacramentaliter corpus Christi. Sed secta
A 114c adversariorum inculcat | difficultates inutiles et fingit inconsequenter miracula de operacionibus accidentis. Sunt autem pro nostra sentencia diffinicio summi iudicis domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui in cena noctis tradicionis sue accepit panem in manibus suis, benedixit, fregit et manducare ex illo generaliter precepit: "Hoc," inquit, "est corpus meum." Cum autem demonstratur panis quem tociens replicavit pronomine
B 120b demonstrandi, et totum resi | duum proposicionis, signat ille qui mentiri non potuit, ipsum esse corpus suum; manifestum est ex auctoritate et dictis Christi quod panis ille fit et est sacramentaliter corpus suum.

3rd We answer all difficulties by detecting sophisms and equivocations; whereas the Sects do the contrary, accumulating difficulties.

S. Adducuntur autem septem testes ad testificandum ecclesie iudicis huius sentenciam; primus est beatus Ignacius apostolis contemporaneus, qui ab illis et cum illis accepit a domino sensum suum. Et recitat eum Lincolniensis super ecclesiastica ierarchia capitulo 3°: "Sacramentum," inquit, "seu eukaristia est corpus Christi." Secundus testis est beatus Cyprianus in epistola sua de corpore Christi. "Calicem," inquit, "in die passionis accipiens, benedixit, et dedit discipulis suis dicens." "Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes: Hic est sangwis testamenti qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Amen, dico vobis, non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem quo vobiscum bibam

Seven witnesses as to the meaning of Christ's words.
I. St. Ignatius, contemporary of the Apostles.

II. St. Cyprian, relating the institution of the Eucharist, says that wine was called Christ's blood

6. quacumque BCD. 13. aliqua AD. 20. manducari BCD. 26. sit *pro* fit A. 28. sunis C. 32. sive C.

29. Ign. Migne, t. 5, pp. 699, 713, series Graeca. 33. Cypr. Ad Coecilium. Migne, t. 4, p. 380, 381.

novum in regno patris mei." "Qua in parte," inquit sanctus, "invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem obtulit, et vinum fuisse, quem sangwinem | suum dixit." Tercius A 114d testis est beatus Ambrosius in libro suo de sacramentis; et ponitur de consecracione distinccione II^a, capitulo: *Panis est in altari:* "Quod," inquit, "erat panis ante consecracionem, iam corpus Christi est post consecracionem." Quartus testis est beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone exponens illud Luce XXIV: "Cognoverunt eum in fraccione panis." "Non omnis panis," inquit, "sed accipiens benediccionem Christi, fit corpus Christi"; et ponitur in canone ubi supra. Quintus testis est beatus Jeronimus in epistola ad Elbidiam: "Nos," inquit, | B 120c "audiamus panem, quem fregit dominus deditque discipulis suis ad manducandum esse corpus domini salvatoris, ipso dicente ad eos: accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum." Sextus testis est decretum Romane ecclesie que sub Nicolao II°, 114 episcopis dictavit prudenter secundum rectam logicam, que debet capi a tota ecclesia; quod panis et vinum que in altari ponuntur sunt post consecracionem non solum sacramentum, sed verum corpus et sangwis domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut patet in canone ubi supra. Septimus testis est usus T. ecclesie que in canone misse orat "ut hec oblacio fiat nobis corpus et sangwis domini nostri Jesu Christi". Illam autem oblacionem vocat ecclesia terrenam substanciam, ut patet in secreta medie misse nativitatis domini. Et in secreta ferie 4^e 4^or temporum in septembri vocatur sacramentum "constans ex terre fructibus".

III. St. Ambrose in his book of the Sacraments.

IV. St. Augustine in a sermon about Emmaus.

V. St. Jerome, in a letter to Ebidia.

VI. The decree of Nicolas II. with 114 bishops.

VII. The custom of the Church, as expressed in the canon of the Mass.

Ista autem septem | testimonia sic inficiunt glosatores A 115a quod dicunt tacite omnia talia dicta sanctorum debere intelligi per suum contrarium; et sic negari finaliter cum scriptura. Penset itaque fidelis, si sanum fuerit hereticare vel in hoc scandalisare istos testes et similes multos. Penset secundo, quid tenderet ad honorem corporis Christi vel devocionem populi, quod ipsum corpus dignissimum sit unum accidens sine subiecto, quod

These testimonies oblige the glossators to explain everything by its contrary; which amounts to denying both them and Scripture. Consider besides, which doctrine gives more honour to Christ's body.

2, 3. quem — fuisse *deest* B. 7. est *deest* B; *ib.* per D. 18. sub Nico° 3° et 113cim CD; 113 B. 26. ecclesia *deest* BCD. 27. secreto BD. 28. Et *deest* D; *ib.* in secreto D. 34—36. Penset — multos *deest* BCD; in marg. A.

5. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars. Dist. II, c. 55.

Augustinus dicit non posse esse; vel si est, est unum B 120d nichil vel abiectissimum in natura | : tunc, inquam, foret Augustinus nimis constans hereticus, quia in epistola 14 ad Bonifacium *de fide eccles'e* ita scribit: "Si," inquit, "sacramenta quandam similitudinem rerum earum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque iam ipsarum rerum nomina recipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est et sacramentum sangwinis Christi sangwis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est." Ubi planum est quod loquitur de sacramento sentito, quod fingitur accidens sine subiecto. Sed que, rogo, similitudo eius ad corpus Christi? Revera fructus istius demencie foret blasfemare in deum, scandalisare sanctos et illudere ecclesie per mendacia accidentis.

Augustine says that the sacraments resemble what they signify: but which resembles Christ's body more, bread, or an accident?

Ad tantum quidem testimonium sanctorum per glosatores subvertitur, quod commixto sensu equivoco quod- A 115b cunque dictum | eciam scripture non facit fidem protervis. Scribit enim Hylarius, ut recitatur de Consecracione, distinccione 2ª, capitulo *Corpus Christi;* "Corpus Christi, inquam, quod sumitur de altari, figura est, dum panis et vinum extra videtur; veritas autem, cum corpus et sangwis Christi in veritate interius creditur". Ecce quam plane panis et vinum sunt hoc sacramentum; ut V. dicit decretum "*Ego Berengarius*". Unde ad detegendum equivocacionem istius materie scribitur ibidem secundum verbum Jeronimi in capitulo "*De hac quidem*". "De hac quidem hostia que in Christi commemoracione mirabiliter fit, edere licet; de illa vero quam Christus in ara crucis obtulit, secundum se nulli edere licet", B 121a ubi planum est | quod loquitur de esu corporali: et distingwit inter has duas hostias secundum sui substancias vel naturas; licet panis ille sit secundum aliam racionem, quia sacramentaliter ipsum corpus: ut ipsemet sanctus dicit in epistola ad Elbidiam, ut recitatur superius. Voluntas dei est ut benefacientes obmutescere

These glossators equivocate everywhere and will not even believe the Scriptures. St. Hilary quoted: 'Christ's body that is taken from the altar is a figure.'

St. Jerome's words: 'Christ on the cross cannot, in the Sacrament can be eaten'. This is just the distinction between 'substantially' = 'corporally as such,' and = 'as a substance.'

1. potest A; *ib.* est esset *pro* est est B. 3. qui C. 8. accipiunt BCD. 10. sangwinis, sangwis BCD. 25. quod B. 27. scribit D. 36. recitat BCD. 37. ut *deest* AB; *ib.* benefacere B.

4. Aug. Ep. XCVIII. Ad Bonifacium. Migne, t. 33, p. 364.
21. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars. Dist. II, c. 79. *Note:* "Ivo etiam citat ex Hilario, et infra eadem c. *In Christo*, in extremo, refertur una cum verbis Hilarii, apud quem tamen non est inventum."

Let these heretics be asked what this *felt* Sacrament is, which is not identically Christ's Body. They will either be confused, or mute, or evade the question, or fly to abuse.

faciatis in prudencium hominum ignoranciam 1ª Pet. II°; I. Petr. II, 15 cum dyabolus sit divisus in se, quomodo stabit sentencia eius heretica? Voluntas itaque dei est ut discipuli veritatis diligenter interrogent ab hereticis antichristi discipulis, quid sit sacramentum altaris sentitum a nobis viantibus, quod non est ydemptice corpus Christi: et non | vidi hereticum, quin vel confusus obmutuit, vel A 115ᶜ ignorando vocem propriam in fundacione defecit, vel querens subterfugia ad convicia secundum scolam magistri mendacii declinaverit; ut querente Christiano prudenter, instanter et humiliter quid sit hoc sacramentum, circa quod stat hodie in apostatis tantus error, non superest nisi benefaciendo obturato hoc blasphemo binio adversarius obmutescat. Queratur secundum doctrinam Petri constanter propter habendam obmutescenciam, quid secundum naturam suam sit hoc venerabile sacramentum.

We must not be satisfied with an evasion, saying what is *there;* we want to know what it *is* of those who, accusing us of heresy, are heretics.

Nec quiescendum est in blasphemiis balbucienciun, quod ibi est albedo sine albo, figura sine figurato, et quantitas sine quanto. Non enim queritur quid ibi fuerit sed quid sit hoc sensibile sacramentum in natura sua. Et patet quam spissim cultores signorum sunt in materia ista heretici; nedum quia imponunt heresim fidelibus, qui elucidant istam fidem, et accusacio de heresi obligat ad penam talionis, verum quia | falsificant et sic B 121ᵇ negant dominum Jesum Christum. Nam nichil debemus secundum fidem ewangelii de Christo credere, si non asseruerit panem quem cepit in manibus ac fregit esse corpus suum; sed dicit Augustinus super psalmo: "Si ego quicquam dixero, nolite ex hoc credere; sed si Christus dicit, ve qui non credit | ." Nec debemus cre- A 115ᵈ dere aliquem sensum ewangelii, si non istum. Ideo, ve X. generacioni adultere que plus credit testimonio Innocencii vel Raymundi, quam sensui ewangelii capto a testibus supradictis! Idem enim esset scandalisare ipsos in isto et imponere eis heresim ex perversione sensus scripture precipue. Et iterum ve ori perverso apostate accumulantis super ecclesiam Romanam mendacia, quibus fingit quod ecclesia posterior priori contraria correxit fidem, quod sacramentum istud sit accidens sine

If Christ's word ought not to be believed on this point, but rather Innocent's, then what shall we believe in Holy Writ?

Woe to those who accumulate lies upon the Church of Rome, making her contradict her former decrees!

2. fit BCD. 7. quando C. 10. declinavit A. 31. sensum esse CD.

33. Raymund de Pegnafort, general of the Dominicans, who inserted in his collection of the Gregorian Decretals the chapter "*Cum Marthe*", of which Wyclif does not approve.

subiecto et non panis verus et vinum, ut dicit ewangelium, cum decreto! Nam, teste Augustino, tale accidens sine subiecto non potest sacerdos Christi conficere: et tamen tantum magnificant sacerdotes Baal mendaciter (indubie iuxta scolam patris sui) consecracionem huius accidentis, quod reputant missas alias indignas audiri vel dissencientes suis mendaciis inhabiles alicubi graduari. Sed credo quod finaliter veritas vincet eos.

But truth will conquer them in the end.

Augustinus in quodam sermone pro secunda feria pasche qui sic incipit: "Hoc quod in altari dei videtis"; "quod" inquit, "vidistis, panis est; calix, quod oculi vestri renuncciant; quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix est sangwis Christi." Et idem ponitur de Consecracione, distinccione 2ª: *"Qui* A 116ª *manducat"* | : Quidditatem autem illius panis declarat | B 121ᶜ posterius, supponens ex fide scripture apostoli quod sit panis. "Panis," inquit, "non fit de uno grano, sed de multis, quando exortizabamini quasi molebamini, quando baptizati estis quasi conspersi estis, quando spiritus sancti ignem accepistis quasi cocti estis. Estote quod videtis, et accipite quod estis; hoc de pane dixit apostolus. Jam de calice quid intelligeremus, eciam non dictum, satis ostendit. Sicut enim, ut sit species visibilis, multa grana consparguntur tanquam illud fiat, quod de fidelibus ait scriptura sancta: *Erat illis anima una et cor unum in deum,* sic et de vino fratres recolite. Unde fit vinum grana multa pendent ad botrum, sed liquor granorum in unitatem confunditur."

A sermon of Augustine quoted: 'the bread is the body of Christ.'

Another passage in which Augustine compares the sanctification of the faithful to the making of bread and wine.

Y. Ex istis dictis istius sancti patet luce clarius quod ipse intelligit per panem et vinum que dicit esse hoc sacramentum corpus et sangwinem. Unde, in alio sermone qui sic incipit: "Reddendum sermonis," declarans quomodo hoc sacrificium sive sacramentum sit corpus Christi et sangwis, sic infert: "Accipite," inquit, "et edite corpus Christi; eciam ipsi in corpore Christi facti, iam membra Christi accipite et potate sangwinem Christi, reddempti per sangwinem Christi; et ne dissolvamini,

Whence I conclude that the Sacrament is real bread and wine.

Again, Augustine says that by eating of this bread we shall be changed into the Lord.

4. sacerdotes baal magnificant C. 12. Quicquid BCD. 15. 2ª capitulo BCD. 24. non *deest* A. 32. et corpus Christi et BCD.

11. Aug. Serm. CCLXXII. Migne, t. 38, p. 1246. 14. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars. Dist. II, c. 75. 33. Aug. Sermo De Sacramento altaris, ad Infantes. Migne, t. 46, p. 827.

manducate vinculum vestrum; ne vobis viles videamini, bibite precium vestrum. Sicut hoc in | vos convertitur, (A 116b) cum illud manducatis et bibitis, sic et vos in corpus Christi convertimini, cum obedienter et pie vivitis." Ex istis patet quam audacter iste sanctus dicit cum aliis et decreto ecclesie, quod panis et vinum sunt corpus Christi et sangwis. Illa autem non dicit accidencia sine subiecto, sed secundum | naturam inferiorem verum (B 121d) panem et vinum, consimilem aliis; quia, ut dicit epistola 14a *ad Bonifacium*, non forent sacramentum, nisi haberent quandam similitudinem cum corpore domini; nec accidens sine subiecto convertitur in hominem, quia desinit esse, ut inquiunt, sine hoc quod quicquam eius remaneat; quod non est converti. Et ita, sicut negant panem sacramentalem esse corpus domini, ita negant implicite quod sit sacramentum. Et ita nimirum ponit Augustinus in De fide ad Petrum quod ista demencia sit nimis heretica: "Firmissime," inquit, "tene et nullatenus dubites, sacrificium panis et vini per orbem offerri." Hec verba sunt in capitulo 16 intercisa, ubi non dubium intelligit intransitive sacrificium quod est panis et vinum, quia aliter foret contrarius sibi ipsi. Et in fine declarat omnes illos 40 articulos esse tante catholicos, quod quicunque voluerit alicui eorum contumaciter contraire sit hereticus ex omnibus catholicis anathematisandus, quia Christiane fidei inimicus.

Nothing can be clearer than these expression.

An accident is not changed into a man, but perishes.

To deny that this bread is Christ's body, is to deny that it is a sacrament.

Augustine alludes to the sacrifice of bread and wine.

Et sic intelligit beatus Gregorius cum aliis catholicis (Z.) vocantibus sacramentum | species panis et vini. Idem (A 116c) enim est species panis et vini quod panis et vinum, sicut egregie declarat beatus Ambrosius in sermone de divinis misteriis, qui sic incipit: *De moralibus.* "Quare descendit spiritus, sicut columba, nisi ut tu videres, ut tu agnosceres eciam illam columbam, quam Noe iustus emisit de archa, istius columbe speciem fuisse, ut tipum agnosceres sacramenti? Et fortasse dicas, cum illa vero columba | fuerit que emissa est, hic quasi columba des- (B 122a) cenderet. Quomodo illic speciem esse dicimus, hic veri-

Gregory calls the Sacrament the appearance of bread and wine. But this means real bread and wine; for Ambrose points out that Noah's dove was the appearance or type (species) of the Holy Ghost; and that the latter, appearing as a dove, was the reality.

2. Sic *pro* sicut A. 3. illud *deest* B. 9. convertimini *deest* A. 9. consimile CD. 11. domini *deest* BCD. 12. in hominem *deest* BCD. 14. esti; converti *deest* CD. 23. infime AB; *ib.* illos *deest* BCD: *ib.* caute BCD. 25. contrarie *omnes MSS.* 28. speciem BCD. 32. nisi ut CD. 33. cognosceres BD. 34. ex CD. 35. cognosceres B.

17. Fulgentius. De Fide ad Petrum, c. XIX. Migne, t. 40, p. 772. 31. Ambr. De Mysteriis, c. 4. (Migne, t. 16, p. 396). The first words of the book are, as Wyclif says, "*De moralibus*".

tatem, cum secundum Grecos in specie columbe spiritum descendisse sit scriptum, sed tam verum quam divinitas que manet semper? Creatura autem non potest veritas esse, sed species que facile solvitur atque mutatur; simul quia eorum qui baptisantur non in specie debeat esse, sed vera simplicitas; unde dominus ait: *Estote astuti sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbe.* Merito igitur, sicut columba descendit ut admoneret nos simplicitatem columbe debere habere. Speciem autem pro veritate accipiendam legimus; et de Christo et "*specie inventus ut homo*"; et de deo patre "*neque speciem eius vidistis.*"

The word 'species' is very often used to mean 'reality'.

Ex istis videtur sanctos vocare sacramentum speciem panis et vini, quia consideracio de quidditate substancie sue est sopita, et illa substancia est sacramentum, ut A 116[d] taliter sumpta. | Et iterum, in quantum similitudo corporis Christi est species, sicut quelibet creatura est species quo ad deum.

Sed absit fidelibus credere quod si sit species istorum corporum, tunc non est panis aut vinum; cum sequatur oppositum, sicut sequitur: spiritus sanctus est visus in columbe specie, igitur illa species est columba. Et patet quomodo ista Antichristi conclusio de quidditate hostie consecrate, quod sit accidens sine subiecto, est manifeste heretica, cum fides scripture, naturalis racio, testimonia sanctorum et decreta ecclesie contradicunt.

'Species' does mean appearance or image; which bread is in many respects; but it is none the less real. For the Dove that represented the Holy Ghost was a real Dove. *Conclusion:* The doctrine of absolute accidents is heretical.

8. amoveret A; eos AB; *ib.* simplicitates ACD; simplices B. 11. est *pro* ut A.

CAPITULUM SEPTEMDECIMUM.

The Sacrament is Christ's body under the form of bread; and this form is bread-ity, *that by which bread is bread:* therefore, real bread.

Finaliter complendo tractatum de apostasia, supponendum est sacramentum altaris esse corpus | Christi B 122b in forma panis. Illa autem forma est panitas, ut dicit Innocencius 3us in tractatu suo, De eukaristia. A Gregorio autem et aliis sanctis vocatur species panis, que indubie est quiditas panis, forma substancialis sive essencia et per consequens verus panis, ut dicit ewangelium quintuplex cum fide ecclesie.

1st *Objection:* 'Christ's body becomes bread'. *Granted.* Then Christ is transsubstantiated 'into bread' *Denied.* Why?

Sed arguitur primo, quod iuxta istud, sicud panis fit corpus Christi, sic corpus Christi fit panis, et per consequens corpus Christi eque vere convertitur et transsubstanciatur in panem, sicut econtra. Sed hic conceditur assumptum et negatur consequencia; nam sicut incarnacione deus fit homo et econtra, sic ista miraculosa confeccione Christi corpus fit panis et econtra. Conversio | autem proprie est mutacio rei in melius. A 117a

a) Because conversion is a change for the better.

Ideo, cum corpus Christi sit infinitum melius quam panis, et virtute corporis Christi fit illa conversio et non virtute panis presuppositi, tanquam materia ad corpus Christi presuppositum secundum esse suum spirituale in sua existencia; ac tercio, consideracio de pane debet esse sopita, tanquam terminus *a quo* sine materia;

b) It takes place by His power, and *c)* He alone is thought of.

et consideracio de corpore Christi tanquam termino *ad quem* debet esse in fide fidelium experrecta; signanter dicitur quod panis convertitur in corpus domini, non econtra.

1. capitulum *deest omnes MSS.* 6. aut CD. 9. duplex A. 11. corpus, sic A. 14. negetur B. 16. confectio D. 18. Christi *deest* CD. 25. experiecta A.

5. Innocent in this treatise, De Sacro Alt. Myst. l. IV *passim,* (Migne, t. 217) very often speaks of *species panis* and even *forma panis;* but never of *panitas,* so far as I have been able to see. If he did, he would contradict himself palpably. 9. Wyclif evidently counts St. Paul's words in I. Cor. X as a fifth Gospel.

Sed secundo obicitur quod corpus Christi sit abieccius quam testudo, quia corpus panis; sed omne corpus non vinum abieccius est vino. Hic oportet notare distinccionem inter predicacionem essencialem et formalem; et cum ille predicaciones dicuntur equivoce, patet quod probabiliter potest negari assumptum, formaliter intel- B 122c ligendo, quod corpus Christo | inferioratur testudine in natura. Sic enim concedit Augustinus Christi discipulis, quod non ipsum corpus quod vident liniari membris Christi sunt carnaliter comesturi. Extendendo autem predicacionem ad essencialem et habitudinalem, sicut conceditur catholice quod corpus Christi et sic deus sit materialis essencia, et sic materia prima que est substancia abiectissima in natura; cum iuxta apostolum, ad Philipp. II° "Christus semetipsum exinanivit, for- A 117b mam servi accipiens:" | Sic concedendum est quod corpus Christi sit panis secundum sacramentalem habitudinem; et sic corpus Christi est inperfeccius quam testudo, et ita secundum disparem predicacionem recipit denominaciones contrarias, sicut persone verbi secundum dispares eius naturas. Corpus enim Christi est multorum singulum, ut in una ecclesia tanta est et talis hostia et in alia est hostia alia variata. Nec sonat hoc in variacione corporis Christi secundum suam essenciam, cum nulla earum sit ydemptice corpus Christi; sed totum sonat in bonitatem largifluam Jesu nostri.

2nd *Objection*: Christ's body, being bread, is more imperfect than, e. g. a tortoise. *Answer*. Apparently so, *granted*; essentially so, *denied*.

Thus in one sense, God is Christ, Christ is matter, matter is 'materia prima', or the meanest of things.

Christ not being identical with bread, this shows His bounty and does not degrade Him.

B. Sed ulterius restat videre, quomodo cultus eukaristie fuerat in missis institutus; quod egregie declarat auctor De divinis officiis. Sive aútem Petrus sive Jacobus vel quicunque alius apostolus celebraverit primam missam post Christum, probabile est quod multos ritus iam introductos dimiserat. Unde probabiliter creditur, quod dumtaxat dixit oracionem dominicam cum verbis sacramentalibus; et post prandium vel in cena isto modo confecerat et tradidit populo partem suam. Et ista B 122d videtur esse sentencia apostoli 1^a | Cor. 10, ut superius exponebam. Narrat autem Cestrensis, libro 4° capitulo 4°, quod Christus passus est 8vo kalendas aprilis, quando A 117c secundum Cassiodorum facta est tam magna solis |

How the Mass was instituted. Many of its rites have varied from the very first.

It may at first have consisted only of the Lord's Prayer, the sacred words, and the giving of Communion.

3. Hinc A. 11. sic A. 18. est *deest* BCD; *ib.* perfeccius B. 20. verbi *deest* BCD. 22. essencia BCD; *ib.* est tanta C. 24. in variacionem CD.

37. Higden's Polychronicon, l. IV, c. VI.

St. James the Less, first bishop of Jerusalem said the first Mass.

As for the hour of saying Mass, the first was certainly said after a meal.

Other rites, good in themselves, have been wrongly added to the first.

defeccio, qualis alias nunquam fuit. Hoc autem anno circa pentecosten ordinatus est ab apostolis Jacobus minor episcopus Jerosolimorum, qui primus inter eos missam celebravit, eodemque anno Petrus apostolus cepit presidere in partibus orientis, ubi quatuor annis pontificavit missasque celebravit, dicendo: *pater noster*. Et quantum ad tempus celebrandi scribit Augustinus ad Januarium, et ponitur in De consecracione, distinccione 2ª; "liquido apparet, quando primo acceperunt discipuli corpus et sangwinem domini, non eos accepisse ieiunos"; sed post fuerunt ritus religiosi et particulatim appositi, qui, licet sint liciti et honesti in multis, tamen sunt ad onus ecclesie, sic quod melius foret sibi atque salubrius hec ommitti. Primo, quia ecclesia deteriorando et illibertando procedit; ideo modus quem observarunt Christus et sui apostoli fuit magis autenticus et lenis. Unde ad nimis pauca respiciunt, qui dicunt quod necesse est papas capitales ecclesie ad regendum et supplendum defectus residuos legis Christi.

Which rites are the best to follow? those of Christ and His Apostles; all other prayers superadded savour of sin more or less, though they may be licit.

We now think it a great sin to change the established form; but to change the form Christ gave was worse.

C. Item, in lege et modo colendi Christi et apostolorum fuit forma virtuosius colendi deum, et quilibet ritus religiosus de tanto est melior. Igitur | religio illa pri- (A 117d) meva a qua ceciderant fuit sequente perfeccior. Culpandus, inquam, foret princeps religionis omnipotens et omnisciens, qui in exemplari religionis omitteret necessarium observandum. Sic enim precipit | Matth. VIº (B 123a) compendiose orare, dimittendo deprecaciones prolixas. (Matth. VI, 7) Nec dico quin licet orare secundum oraciones alias, sed oportet quod alie oraciones et earum obligaciones peccatum sapiant plus vel minus. Nam Christus diffinivit medium virtuosum, et ut capitur in minori argumenti, iste est optimus modus orandi et colendi deum. Igitur presumpcio foret eum dimittere. Item, si religiosus vel usuarius tradicionis adiecte humanitus adicit vel subtrahit quo ad usum illum, reputatur peccare graviter; igitur evidencius quo ad usum religionis quam in tanta auctoritate et mensura Christus instituit. Unde ultra vires nituntur, qui intendunt excludere

1. nunquam fuit *deest* B. 3. Jerosolimitarum B. 6. noster etc. D. 14. quod CD. 16. leuis C. 18. papas esse BCD. 25. religionis *deest* BCD. 26. Sic A; *ib.* precepit B. 27. oracionem CD. 33. ipsum BCD. 36, 37. religionis quam *deest* B; illum reputatur *pro* religionis quam CD.

9. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars. Dist. II, c. 54.

talem onustatem ecclesie a peccato, cum infinitum foret gravius apostotare a religione quam Christus instituit, quam a tradicionibus posterius adinventis. Non enim est fides vel racio, quod eo ipso quo Romanus pontifex vel alius citra Christum quicquam instituit, Christus adest ac illud instituit et confirmat. Tunc enim foret talis institutor inpeccabilis supra deum. Item, ut ex fide supponitur, nulla ordinacio Christiani est licita, nisi de quanto auctorisata et prius ordinata fuerit a [A 118a] deo; sed generaliter tales | condiciones private sine revelacione adiecte religioni Christi non sunt prius ordinate et auctorisate a deo, ergo non sunt licite. Maior patet, ex hoc quod omnis vita et operacio Christiani licita ex hoc est licita quod est prius a deo facta atque volita. Et ex isto principio videtur primo, quod multi Romani pontifices usurpando sibi [B 123b] nomen summi Christi vicarii in terris | sepe blasfemant. Videtur secundo, quod in dando absoluciones a pena, ignorando gradum contricionis, non minus blasphemant. Videtur tercio, quod in ordinando indiscrete officia ad onus ecclesie, cadunt in eandem blasphemiam; ut canonisaciones sanctorum et festa, in quibus post oscula et ritus alios concedunt indulgencias infundabiliter, et per consequens indiscrete. De isto onere ecclesie conqueritur Augustinus libro primo ad Januarium, ut sepe exposui. Nam credi debet ut fides, quod nulla canonisacio sancti citra Christum nec aliqua oracio sibi facta, valet facienti ad meritum vel sancto ad honorem, nisi de quanto adauget caritatem aut devocionem fidelium ad Christum, et promovet ad observanciam legis sue. In cuius signum nulle vel pauce erant observancie in ecclesia primeva; et post multiplicate sunt propter fastum et lucrum, dimissa attencione fidelium ad virtutes. Et propter hoc deus necessitavit ordinatores oracionum ecclesie, quod in qualibet tali oracione preces suas ad Christum dirigerent, [A 118b] spera | rent et crederent ad instanciam talis sancti. Et creditur quod sepe propter affeccionem et insti-

No evidence of Divine aid to frame the liturgies.

Unless such rites come from God, they are unlawful.

The Popes often go too far. 1st in taking the name of Christ's Vicar. 2nd in granting absolutions at random; 3rd in burdening the Church with rites.

No such observance is good, unless it increase devotion.

And it often tends to do the contrary.

1. ecclesie *deest* BCD. 6. conformat B. 14. primus AB. 15. et BCD. 19. gradus A. 28, 29. ad honorem *deest* BCD. 29. et CD. 30. in Christo BCD. 31. multe AB. 32. primitiva BCD. 33. factum et *deest* CD.

25. Augustine (Ad Januarium; Migne, t. 33, p. 200) complains in general terms of unnecessary observances.

tucionem inordinatam fit displicencia deo et sanctis et per consequens evenit deterius oranti. Nam in solum Christum, qui est sanctus sanctorum, debemus credere membra eius, de quanto ad Christi amorem excitant et ad sequelam vie sue preparant solum attendere.

Among these innovations are the 'private religions'; which imply that a man entering and remaining therein, worships God better.

4°, videtur quod in ordinando tales religiones privatas perpetuas, consistit magna blasfemia; nam sic ordinans instituit, quod quicunque | religionem illam (B 123c) ingreditur, de quanto in illa permanet, de tanto perfeccius colit deum. Quod deus indubie non ordinat; et sic, tanquam antichristus, ordinat aliquid contra deum. Et hec racio quare apostolus 1ª Cor. I° et III° (I. Cor. I, 10; III, 3) prohibet tales sectas capitum citra Christum; quia distrahunt ab observancia legis Christi, seminant dissenciones in ecclesia et ex confederacionibus temporalibus causant vecordias in defensione cause dei.

Orders were at first purely for God's glory and the good of souls.

Augustinus autem, et si qui alii meritorie constituerant tales sectas, hoc fecerunt illis qui gratis venire voluerant ad honorem dei et ad utilitatem ecclesie atque sui. Et quandocunque sentirent quod aliquod istorum trium defuerit, nedum habeant licenciam sed debeant secundum Christi obedienciam illas sectas dimittere.

Perpetual vows, unlawful. Christ cannot compel men to serve Him.

Nec licet secundum aliam perpetuitatem, qualis (E.) so | lemnisatur hodie, sectas statuere. Nam Christus (A 118c) non potest compellere quemquam intrare religionem suam, nisi gratis voluerit, nec potest quemquam cogere servare religionem suam, nisi gratis voluerit. Quomodo igitur potest Magog statuere quod homo servabit suum ordinem, velit, nolit? Gloriosa itaque foret condicio, si relicto ritu gentili incarceracionis sit in libera potestate cuiuscunque religiosi privati servare ritus humanos precise quantum viderit hoc prodesse ecclesie, et ad honorem dei vergere; et alios ipsos dimittere.

So imprisonment in these cases ought to be given up; if it were, all would be done by charity.

Tunc enim solverentur confederaciones dyabolice contra Christum, et ordo ecclesie secundum religionem Christi primevam tenderet ad unitatem caritativam, consumpta invida comparacione | sectarum, de qua conqueritur (B 123d) apostolus 1ª Cor. 1°.

A foolish vow does not oblige anyone; nor a vow to do wrong.

Nec obligat votum fatuum, quod

6. in *deest* CD. 7. blasfemie *deest* BCD; *ib.* sicut CD. 13. qui CD. 16. dissensione C. 19. ad *deest* BCD. 20. aliquid A. 26, 27. nec — voluerit *deest* B. 30. incarnacionis B. 31. observare BCD. 32. se BCD. 33. pergere BCD; *ib.* alias BCD. 37. invidia B.

23. *Aliam perpetuitatem* seems here to be in opposition with *religiones privatas perpetuas* of l. 6, 7; perpetuity of the Orders, perpetuity of vows in the Orders.

libertatem Christi dissolveret. Sic non frangit votum qui vovens malefacere proximo benefacit. Cum enim omne votum debet deo fieri, patet quod deus per se dispensat, cum filio suo quem movet peccatum stulti voti dimittere. Nec oportet licenciam antichristi in sordibus expectare. Et ex istis videtur quod nullus mundo dives vel alius debet ministrare tali clerico temporalia, vel consentire secundum racionem qua integrant conventus huiusmodi, cum ut sic ageret A 118[d] contra Christum. Iuvent itaque fideles religiosos i | stos, exonerando eorum sarcinas, secundum racionem qua observant religionem Christianam, vel ipsam augent.

1[st] *Objection:* These Religions, having fine houses and clean churches, honour God. *Answer:* This is an argument of the Devil.

Matth. XII, 24 Nec cecentur argumentis dyaboli, quibus sic arguit: Tales religiosi honeste serviunt deo, habent pulchras domus atque ecclesias scopis mundatas, et alia ecclesiastica ornamenta. Nam deus huius seculi, ut trahat ad terrena deorsum et ut distrahat mentes hominum a celestibus, et impediat que sursum sunt querere, multiplicat talia argumenta. Foret ad honorem corporis Christi et ad devocionem populi, quod forent talia ornamenta. Conceditur, inquam, quod necesse est habere talia, de quanto sustentant et augent cultum dei. Si autem distrahunt affeccionem fratrum et impediunt 'que sursum sunt querere et non que super terram'; non dubium, quin tunc culpabiliter noceant. Ad quod medium attingendum oportet aspicere serpentem Christum et suos sequentes eum propinquius, et non mundum. Aliter enim B 124[a] deficeret homo nimis elongatus a via Christi. |

In so far as these things aid God's worship they are necessary, no farther.

2[nd] *Obj.:* The Church should be finer than Solomon's temple. This is a Jew's reasoning.

Greater than Solomon, Christ was poor.

Nec sunt evidencie facte in contrarium digne memoria, ut hii arguunt quod templum Salomonis pro cultu dei fuit celebre, ergo magis est ecclesia Christi. Sed isti iudaisantes non considerant, quomodo Christus pauper excedens sapienciam Salomonis, iam sursum sedens A 119[a] attendit celebritatem virtutum, non solemnitatum | quo ad seculum. Devocio autem contemnencium plus edificavit ecclesiam in virtute. Conversacio autem Christi docet quomodo religiosa devocio intendetur.

Again: St. Paul made collections for the Saints in Jerusalem. So this can still be done.

F. Secundo, obicitur quod Paulus fecit collectas sanctis Jerusalem religiose viventibus in communi; ergo, per idem, meritorium est sic facere in presenti. Sed sic arguentes attenderent quod sit undique sufficiens pari-

1. sicut CD. 6. Et *deest* BCD. 9. integrat BCD. 14. servant B. 21. concedetur D. 26. attinendum AB. 31. est *deest* CD. 34. sollempnitatem BCD. 38. quomodo BCD. 40. pro BCD.

But are the circumstances the same? same purity of life, dearth of food, &c.?

tas. Primo, quod communitas vivat pure sine tradicionibus onerosis adiectis, ut vixerunt sancti illi Jerusalem. Secundo, quod prevalente caristia sterilitatis, ut tunc, nostri religiosi sint adeo hostibus circumsepti, quod non superest religiosis temporale relevamen subsidii aliunde.

3rd *Obj.*: These Orders founded by Saints, have produced saints: to attack them were wrong.

Antecedent *granted;* conclusion *denied.* Saints can sin.

And the very fall of Lucifer has had good results.

These Saints may have erred through misguided zeal.

Tercio, obicitur per hoc quod multi pii patroni fundarunt hos ordines et multos sanctos successores reliquerant, qui omnes secundum istum sanctum ordinem militarunt; hereticum igitur foret ipsos super errore impetere vel confirmacionem pape super istos ordines impugnare. Hic conceditur assumptum; nec obviat quin illi patroni peccarunt, saltem venialiter, introducendo huiusmodi novitates; sicut probabiliter creditur de beato Silvestro auctorisante dotacionem ecclesie. Et sic conceditur eciam secunda proposicio; ymmo quod adinvenciones iste faciunt multa bona ecclesie; cum ruina primi angeli cum suis | membris longe magis prodest B 124b
ecclesie. Et sic foret valde catholicum probabiliter opinari, quod dicti sancti ex ce | ca devocione pecca- A 119b
verunt. Qui licet modo purgentur, tamen vestigium erroris relictum debet diligenter caveri; ut patet de vestigiis aliarum culparum sanctorum. Nam Petrus peccavit post missionem spiritus sancti ex observancia novitatis private: ut patet Gall. II°. Non tamen est Gal. II, 11
comendandus propterea, vel sequendus. Multo magis patroni plus peccantes, introducendo sectas et ritus ad onus ecclesie. Illi ergo patroni sunt imitandi, de quanto sequentur religionem Christi, servando eius consilia et mandata. Sed de quanto in adinvencionibus humanis exorbitant, sunt detestandi a fidelibus, eciam a se ipsis. Sic autem supponitur sanctos illorum ordinum militasse; et melius ac expedicius cucurrissent, in casu quo exonerati fuissent ab istis ritibus; sed onus ac observancia istorum invaluit et Christi religio decrescebat. Aliter enim non forent tot divisiones in sectis Augustini, Benedicti, Francisci et aliis, que omnes obligant se multiplicius, striccius et onerosius quam sancti illi requisierant, et religionem sonantem in conversacionem Christi per dispensaciones subdolas derelinquunt. Quis, inquam, est hodie, qui tam stricte vivit in vescibilibus ut primitus,

Peter sinned, even after the coming of the Holy Ghost.

So also of the founders of Orders; they burdened the faithful with observances,

and filled the Church with dissensions, loading themselves and others uselessly.

Who is now as poor, as humble, as holy as his Founder was?

1. uniat ACD. 2. illi *deest* D. 5. religiosius *omnes MSS.* 6 per hoc *deest* CD. 7. fundaverunt BCD. 9. ipsas A. 11. quod BCD. 12. saltim AB. 13. conceditur AB. 15. secunda *deest* A; propositum A. 19, 20. peccaverant CD. 20. non B. 23. observania AB. 24. 4to BCD. 29. in advencionibus ABD. 31. istorum CD. 37, 38. requirerant A.

tam humiliter contentatur in tegumentis indumentorum A 119[c] corporis et | domorum? et omnino qui tam excellenter sanctificando se super alios edificat ecclesiam ut sui B 124[c] patroni | primevi fecerant? quin ymo commixti inter gentes didicerunt opera eorum, eciam amplius seculariter plus voluptuose et plus impie conversando.

Nay, they are worse than Gentiles.

Illud igitur nec papa nec Christus potuit confirmare; sed omnes fideles debent iuvare modo suo dissolvere. Quod foret potissime, si totus Christianismus foret unus populus habens sine talibus onerosis adinvencionibus cor unum et animam unam, pure, libere et leviter observando secundum gradum quem deus donaverit religionem Christianam. Nam quod amplius est obligans sectas regulariter sapit blasfemiam, quia observancia que in uno proficeret in alio secundum variacionem persone, loci, temporis magis officeret.

All should labour to end this state of things: which could be done if Christ's religion were observed.

What avails one person, time and place is hurtful to others.

H. Quamvis autem Christus dedit religionem suam secundum limites ineffabilis libertatis, tamen propter divisiones et mendacia multi ab ea exorbitant; quanto magis in religionibus privatis, que non ad tantam sanctitatem, sapienciam et dei auxilium devenerunt. Cum igitur debent reparari ordines, debent ad illum gradum quem Christus instituit reparari; quod foret facillimum, si quilibet Christianus diligeret et foveret se et alium in quantum Christianus, et odiret quemcunque in quantum servat ritum privatum humanitus A 119[d] adinventum. Si autem spiritus | movet quemquam ad servandum supereminenter legem Christi, non ordinabitur propterea lex sive religio obligans generaliter novam sectam. Nam sic quilibet apostolus reliquisset propriam sectam. Omnes tamen preter Scarioth de secta Christi contentati fuerant, ut patet prima Cor. I et III. Apo- B 124[d] stata | igitur divisionem in religione Christiana faciens, "omni tempore iurgia seminat", multiplicando mendacia. In cuius signum post sectarum istarum multiplicacionem introductam, multiplicate sunt divisiones et iurgia in sancta ecclesia.

Even Christ's perfect religion is not enough followed; how much less the imperfect inventions of men!

It does not follow, because God moves a man to certain practices, that he must found a sect: why did not each Apostle do so? As it is, the Church is divided by them.

Sed, ut quidam prenoscitat, violencia istarum sectarum et per consequens occasio licium infra tempus modicum subtrahetur. Cuius evidencia est, quod sicut affectus consequitur intellectum, sic mendacium seminatum de

It has been foretold that the violence of these sects will shortly pass away.

5. plus BCD. 16. et temporis CD. 18. tamen *deest* AB.
21. devenerant A. 22. reparari debent C. 25. sic BCD; *ib.* adiret BC.
29. proprie D. 33. Christi BCD.

Their theory of the Eucharist was the beginning of heresy. They used to say it was something: either quality or quantity.

speculativa eucaristia precedit prenoscite mendacia divisionis ecclesie. Nunc autem creditur mendacium de dicta hostia esse summum. Olym enim dicebatur in introduccione sectarum, quod ipsa hostia sit aliquid, quia accidens sine subiecto quod est abiectissimum in natura, quia infinitum inperfeccius quam quantumcunque abiecta materialis substancia. Et hii erant bipartiti, ut una secta dicit quod ipsum sacramentum sit quantitas et alia secta quod sit accidens perfeccius: scilicet, materialis qualitas. Et sicut utraque posuit suum accidens [I.] esse sine subiecto, ita sentencia sua caruit fun | [A 120ª] damento.

Now they affirm that it is nothing: so they can say no worse against this Sacrament.

Nunc autem, diebus nostris, surrepsit bifurcata via blasfemorum; quarum utraque dicit, quod venerabile sacramentum altaris nichil est. Prima autem dicit, quod est agregacio accidencium diversorum in genere, ut quantitatis et qualitatis sine substancia subiecta; secunda dicit, quod est qualitates sine subiecto, que quidem fuerunt in pane vel vino. Nec superest quid dicant ulterius in dedecus sacramenti, quam quod sit res abiectissima in natura ac quod sit incomposite pure nichil.

And having come to the extreme point of blasphemy, a reaction must ensue.

Cum igitur oportet mendaces cadere, cum fuerint in summo gradu blasfemie, necesse videtur ipsos in tercio signo | deficere. [B 125ª]

We must note how the words of the Church oppose their inventions.

Sed ecclesia fidelium attenderet quomodo ante istos ecclesia orat in canone misse, "ut hec oblacio panis et vini nobis corpus et sangwis fiat domini nostri Jesu Christi". Illam autem oblacionem vocat terrenam substanciam, ut patet in secreta secunde misse natalis domini. Iste autem secte in toto adversantur tam fideli usui sancte matris ecclesie, cum dicunt, quod illa oblacio non potest esse corpus et sangwis Jesu nostri. Sed illam oportet omnino destrui, et unum inperfeccius quam corpus abiectissimum a fidelibus sacramentaliter adorari.

Their recriminations on this subject proceed from shame; for they feel that their doctrine dishonours the Eucharist.

Et quia verecundantur de revelacione huius fallacie, pervertuntur ad solita comenta mendacii, imponentes nobis illam dehonoracionem sacramenti huius venerabilis, quod sit inperfeccius in natura quam abiectissimum corpus mundi. Sic enim ipsi prius frontose defenderant asse | [A 120ᵇ] rendo ut fidem, quod ipsum sacramentum sit accidens quod prius informavit panem, quam sentenciam mendaciter imponunt Romane ecclesie.

1. eukaristie ABC; *ib.* prenostice C. 3. est BCD. 10. unum BCD. 16. subiecta *deest* D. 18. aut BCD. 24. istas BCD. 26. vel *pro* nobis B. 28. secreto B. 30. sanctis BCD. 31. Christi *pro* nostri B. 32. vinum D.

K. Nos autem usque ad mortem invehere volumus contra istam perfidiam et contrarium ex fide defendere; scilicet, quod panis et vinum quod ipsi fingunt accidens sit naturaliter ante consecracionem panis et vinum, sed post consecracionem corpus dignissimum, quia vere et realiter corpus Christi. Consideracio autem de priori natura sopita est, sicut consideracio nature ymaginis, suspensa tota attencione fidelium in signato. Et sicut exemplificat doctor, natura carbonis suspenditur, dum ignitur.

We shall maintain unto death that the Sacrament is Christ's true and real body.

The nature of bread indeed remains, but is forgotten: ignited charcoal is fire.

Si, inquam, plene instruerentur fideles quod non communicent cum istis sectis nec participent eis temporale subsidium, antequam sub signo patente sui capitanei docuerint quid naturaliter sit illa hostia post consecracionem, quam fideles | vere credunt esse quodammodo corpus Christi, et corporaliter senciunt ac sciunt fuisse in hostia ante consecracionem; O quam gloriosa foret exclusio falsitatis perfide et enucliacio veritatis! Sed per cautelas dyaboli fides postponitur et mundo antichristiane attenditur. Occupacio tamen foret prelatorum ecclesie dilucidare populo fidei veritatem. Sed ad reges et potentatus pertinet illud a clero suo exigere. Modo autem ex cautela dyaboli, concedunt sectis licenciam incarcerandi proditorie | suos legios, ut puta iuvenes pro fide ecclesie et bono rei publice decertantes. Hoc autem nedum est infidelitas, sed regalie regum destruccio. Nec mirum de ista cecitate ecclesie, quia secte quedam, inconsultis regibus, dant pape omnium suorum dominium quod sufficiunt de regnis perquirere; quod non est aliud quam legem dei subvertere et ad questum antichristianum disponere. Nam illi, ut fingunt, non possunt propter perfeccionem ewangelicam tale dominium possidere: quomodo ergo possent in alios derivare? Iterum, cum rex habeat omnium temporalium regni sui capitale dominium, quomodo licet eis tot bona regni alienare ad exteros,

[B 125b] [A 120c]

They should be forced to declare what the Host is, or receive no temporal aid.

Exhortation to the secular powers to interfere.

The King is wrong to let the Sects imprison youths who struggle for the Faith and the good of the State.

This destroys kingly power.

Many sects besides give the Pope lordship over all they have.

L. eciam inimicos? Iterum, cum ex confessione sua papa debet esse maxime ewangelicus, perfectissime sequens Christum, quomodo licet eis temptando onerare capud suum cum stercore temporalium, quod propter turbacionem morum a se ipsis excuciunt? Talia, inquam, inconveniencia vident quidam sequi ex sectis privatis

The Pope should follow Christ perfectly, why tempt him with temporalities?

Some members of these sects, feeling their false position,

3. figuram B. 9. suppenditur A. 10. sic *pro* si D. 24. in iuvenes D. 28. omnium bonorum BCD. 30. antichristum CD. 31. pro non BCD; *ib.* propter *deest* B. 33. in alios *deest* A.

cum infinitis tradicionibus execucionem legis Christi tardantibus. Et ne dent scandalum prudenter dissimulant. Quidam autem in secta succumbunt vecorditer. | Unde [B 125c] dupliciter exeunt quidam sectas huiusmodi, scilicet licite et illicite; licite, videndo quia aliter quam in claustro vel privatis conventiculis plus prodessent ecclesie; et illicite multis modis: | [A 120d] ut procurando exempcionem, episcopatum vel licenciam standi extra vel in cura seculari; ut plus laute, plus effrene et plus ociose voluptentur et magis in causa dyaboli contra dominum ocientur. Et tales sunt qui extra sectam, propter episcopatum vel secte firmamentum cum dominabus vel dominis vel quomodocunque in seculo evagantur. Et tales indubie sunt apostate inter homines a dyabolo agitati, cuiusmodi sunt episcopi propter copiam temporalium. Illi quidem seducunt ecclesiam et potentes, ut constet sua privata religio. Illi quidem cupide colligunt temporalia ad hunc finem. Et breviter omnes qui impediunt ne servetur Christiana religio in sua pristina libertate. Et sic pauci sunt quin sunt apostate plus vel minus, quia alienati a religione Christi, quam impediunt; cum tota solicitudo viancium dispersa in sectas privatas, si foret debite collecta ad trahendum Petri naviculam in fluctibus huius seculi pure secundum religionem Christi, militaret tucius contra procellas quam modo militat. Ideo ve illis apostatis qui impediunt illud navigium!

leave it lawfully and unlawfully; lawfully, to serve the Church better; unlawfully, by obtaining dispenses to live at ease.

These are truly apostates.

They do much harm.

If the care given to the Sects were bestowed on Peter's bark, she would hold a better course.

[M.] Similiter, posito quod adinvenciones humane et ficte obediencie iuvant secundum religionem Christi ad meritum: adhuc oportet concedere quod non tantum quantum pura religio Christi; quia aliter blasphemaretur in ipsum et scandalisa | [A 121a] rentur apostoli, qui hoc instituere | [B 125d] ex negligencia vel ignorancia omiserunt. Cum igitur non valet privata obediencia nisi de quanto fit Christo, sibi autem posset fieri eque meritorie vel meritorius subductis religionibus privatis, ut patet de apostolis, manifestum videtur quod tales religiones non iuvant ad meritum, sed retardant. Similiter, de quanto religio est deo propinquior et a confirmacione humana independencior, est ipsa perfeccior; sed pura religio Christiana est huiusmodi respectu cuiuslibet religionis private

Even if human inventions help towards sanctity, we must admit that they do so less than Christ's ordinances.

The nearer to God, and the less dependent on man any religion is, the better it is: this is eminently true of the pure religion of Christ.

7. exceptionem A. 9. ocie A. 13. quocumque ACD. 33. omiserant A. 35, 36. subditis CD.

adiecte humanitus: igitur est qualibet tali perfeccior. Non enim dependet a confirmacione pape vel hominis citra Christum; nec fundari potest vel dari ab alio, quia non consistit in signis extrinsecis; sed in bonis anime, "que sursum descendunt a patre luminum". Et si dicatur quod religio ista est agregatum superaddens religioni Christi bonum ab homine ordinatum et de tanto est melius, certum videtur quod totum quod est vera religio, oportet appropriate a Christo descendere. Et ritus superadditus ex obligacione maiori et inordinata preponderante destruit religionem Christi, et instituit novum genus religionis dyaboli.

If they answer that to Christ's law is added man's good ordinance, we see that the latter destroys the former.

Sic enim est de scriptura sacra per Sergium et de sentencia eukaristie per cultores signorum. Olim enim fuit fides ecclesie quod virtute verborum Christi panis sensibilis fit et est corpus Christi; modo autem sophi-A 121[b] sticantur scriptura et dicta sanctorum, quod ille panis | nullomodo potest esse corpus Christi, sed in accidenti-N. bus abiectissimis est corpus Christi absconditum. Unde improbant fideles qui adorant hoc sacramentum; quia, B 126[a] secundum eos, omnis abiecti | corporis particula est ipso sacramento dignior, et natura divina perfeccior corpore Christi est realius, substancialius et virtuosius ad quemlibet eius punctum. Sed non sic sensit ecclesia primitiva; nam ipsum corpus panis credebatur fieri sacramentaliter corpus Christi; et cum superaddit per illud miraculum super esse deitatis, ibidem adorant fideles illum panem sanctum quem vident de quanto est corpus Christi, et sic adorant finaliter ipsum deum.

Example in the new doctrine of the Eucharist.

How can anything so mean as an accident be adored?

Such was not the doctrine of the early Church.

The faithful used to adore God in this Sacrament.

Sic enim sensit beatus Ignacius, ut dictum est superius, et sic sensit beatus Cyprianus, ut patet in libro suo ad Cecilium de sacramento corporis et sangwinis domini, ubi declarans quod non licet in pura aqua conficere, sic scribit: "Calicem," inquit, "in die passionis accipiens benedixit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: 'Bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sangwis testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis: non bibam amodo ex ista creatura vitis usque in diem illum, quo vobiscum bibam novum in regno

Ignatius and Cyprian were of this mind.

Quotation from the latter.

5. descendant A. 11. preponderancius BCD; *ib.* inficit CD. 12. religionis *deest* BCD. 13. sicut BCD. 14. signum BCD. 15. sicut *pro* fuit BCD. 36. enim *deest* BCD; *ib.* novi testamenti B. 37. in *deest* D.

32. Migne, t. 5, p. 380, 381.

patris mei." "Qua in parte," inquit sanctus, "invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem obtulit, et vinum fuisse quod sangwinem suum dixit." Et Johannes Damascenus Grecus scribit | in sentenciis suis quod deus A 121[c] "coniugavit pani et vino deitatem suam et fecit ipsam corpus et sangwinem". Et idem dicunt sancti con- O. corditer.

Words of St. John Damascenus.

Unde, in Vitis Patrum narratur capitulo 18, quomodo narravit abbas Daniel dicens: "dixit pater noster abbas Arsenius de quodam sene, qui magnus erat in hac vita, simplex autem in fide; et errabat pro eo quod erat ydiota et dicebat naturaliter non esse corpus Christi | panem quem sumimus, sed figuram eius B 126[b] esse. Hoc autem audientes duo senes et scientes quod magna esset vita eius, cogitaverunt quia innocenter et simpliciter dixit hoc. Et venerunt ad eum, et dicunt ei: 'Abba, sermonem audivimus cuiusdam infidelis, qui dixit quia panis quem sumimus non naturaliter corpus Christi, sed figura est.' Senex ait eis: 'Ego sum qui hoc dixi.' Illi autem rogabant eum dicentes: 'non sic teneas, abba, sed sicut ecclesia catholica tradidit. Nos autem credimus, quia panis corpus Christi est, calix ipse sangwis Christi secundum veritatem et non secundum figuram. Sed sicud in principio pulverem de terra accipiens plasmavit hominem ad ymaginem suam, et nemo potest dicere quod non erat ymago dei, quamvis incomprehensibilis. Ita et panis quem dixit quia *corpus meum est* credimus quia secundum veritatem corpus Christi est.' Senex autem ait eis, quia 'nisi re ipsa cognovero | , non michi satisfacit racio A 121[d] vestra'. Illi autem dixerunt ad eum: 'deprecemur deum ebdomada hac de misterio hoc, et credimus quia deus revelabit nobis'. Senex vero cum gaudio suscepit sermonem istum, et deprecabatur deum dicens: 'Domine, tu cognoscis, quoniam non propter maliciam incredulus sum rei huius, sed per ignoranciam dubito. Revela igitur michi, domine Jesu Christe, quod verum est.' Sed et illi senes abeuntes in cellas suas rogabant di- P. centes: 'Domine Jesu Christe, revela seni misterium hoc, ut credat et non perdat laborem suum.' Exaudivit

Anecdote by the Abbot Daniel in the *Lives of the Desert Fathers.* An old Father, holy in life, believed that the sacramental bread was only the figure of Christ's body.

He was told to believe that the bread was really Christ's body.

But, he not being satisfied with their reasons,

they said: 'Let us pray this week'.

He consented and prayed.

So did the others.

4. quia B. 6. corpus suum CD. 19. dixit B. 22. panis ipse BCD. 23. Christi est CD. 29. dixit CD. 32. ministerio B. 40. nonque B.

6. De Vitis Patrum l. v. libello 18. Migne, t. 73, p. 978, 979.

dominus utrosque, et ebdomada completa venerunt do- B 126c minico die | in ecclesiam et sederunt ipsi tres soli super sedili de cirpo, quod ad modum fascis erat ligatum. Medius autem sedebat senex ille. Aperti sunt intellectuales oculi eorum, et quando positi sunt in altari panes, videtur illis tantummodo tribus, tanquam parwulus iacens super altare. Et cum extendisset presbiter manus ut frangeret panem, descendit angelus domini de celo habens cultrum in manu, et sacrificavit puerum illum: sangwinem vero eius excuciebat in calicem. Cum autem presbiter frangeret in partibus parvis panem, eciam et angelus incidebat pueri membra in modicis partibus. Cum vero accessisset ut acciperet sanctam communionem, data est ipsi soli caro A 122a sangwine cruentata | quod cum vidisset pertimuit et clamavit dicens. 'Credo quia panis qui in altari ponitur corpus tuum est; et calix tuus est sangwis.' Et statim facta est in manu eius panis secundum misterium, et sumpsit cum ore, gracias agens deo. Dixerunt ei senes: 'Deus scit naturam humanam, quia non potest vesci carnibus crudis; et propter ea transformavit corpus in panem et sangwinem in vinum hiis qui illud in fide suscipiunt.''

Their eyes were opened. And they saw on the altar a little child sacrificed by an Angel.

And the old man, instead of the Host, received bleeding flesh; and he believed, and the flesh was again bread.

Ex ista narracione, vera supposita, patent tria: primo quomodo in illa etate ecclesie vocarunt panem regulariter corpus Christi; nondum enim introducti sunt cultores accidencium, qui finxerant accidens sacramentum. Patet secundo quod non est intencionis miraculi dicere quod panis sacramentalis fit ydemptice corpus Christi, sed sufficit quod supra racionem figure panis B 126d ille sit realiter corpus | Christi. Et patet tercio pro isto termino 'naturaliter' quod doctores primitive ecclesie, et specialiter Hylarius libro 7° De trinitate capitulo 6°, dicunt corpus Christi esse naturaliter, corporaliter et carnaliter ipsum panem, ad excludendum figuram precisam qualis fuit in lege veteri, et qualis est in signis nostris humanitus institutis: quia aliter Christus dixisset superflue: "hoc est corpus meum", nisi signum illud panis haberet quandam efficaciam super illa. Sed ut A 122b dictum est, adverbia debent intelligi simpliciter. |

Conclusions: *a*) that Christ's body was then regularly called bread;

b) that the miracle does not produce identity;

c) that the early Doctors call Christ's Body *natural* bread.

3. medium CD. 7. extenderet B. 8, 9. Domini *deest* B. 15. sangwine *deest* B. 17. est *deest* A; *ib.* est illa BCD. 18. ministerium B.

3. *Scirpo,* in the text quoted.

Return to the question: the variation of rites in the Mass. The author of De Divinis officiis says: Of old Mass was celebrated less splendidly.

Redeundo ergo ad variacionem rituum in missa, cum illa variacio possit bene fieri, videndum est de eius origine, quam declarat auctor De divinis officiis, sub hiis verbis: "Olym non tanto exterioris apparatu decoris missarum solemnia celebrabantur, nec ab uno quolibet homine religiosi obsequii gloria consummata et perpolita. Pontifices quippe sacri, splendida Romane sedis luminaria, sicut diversis temporibus effulserunt, ita paulatim studii sui claritate venustatem huius salutaris officii perfecerunt. Et sicut traditum a domino per Moysen sacrificii veteris ordinem, precipue David et Salomon, sacerdotum et Levitarum ministerio, tantorum multiplici numero psalmorum divinorum, tripudio, templi vel altaris illustri gloria, sacrorumque multitudine vasorum splendidius ampliarunt; sic traditum a domino mirabilem novi sacrificii ritum per primos apostolos sancta Romana ecclesia suscipiens religiosa fide amplexata est, fideli cura conservavit, diligenti apparatu exornavit. Que ergo quique eorum con | tulerunt, iam dicemus magis secundum ordinem eorum que ordinata sunt, quam eorum qui ordinaverunt. Celestinus papa 42us constituerat ut psalmi David centum | 5o ante sacrificium canerentur anthiphonatim ex omnibus; quod ante non fiebat, sed tantum epistola et ewangelium recitabantur. Ex hoc instituto excepti de psalmis introitus, gradualia, offertoria, communione cum modulacione ad missam in ecclesia Romana cantari ceperunt. Gregorius 65 antiphonarium regulariter centonisavit et compilavit, *Kyrieleison* a clero ad missam cantari precepit, quod aput Grecos ab omni populo cantabatur; *alleluya* extra penthecosten ad missam dici fecit, in canone tria verba superaddidit hostie: 'diesque nostros

Q. — B 127^a — A 122^c — R.

As David and Salomon perfected the sacrifices of Moses, so has the Roman Church done in later times.

Pope Celestinus ordered that the whole Psalter should be sung before Mass, by anthems.

Pope Gregory arranged the anthems, composed the *Kyrie eleison,* added some words to the Canon,

10. intraditum ad nomen domini D. 18. fidei D; *ib.* con- *deest* BCD. 20. sed *pro* secundum C. 26. comunionem CD. 28. regulariter *deest* A; ib. teutonisavit *omnes MSS.*

21. According to the Benedictine chronological list, St. Celestinus (422) was the 44th Pope, counting St. Peter. In De Divinis Officiis, ascribed to Alcuin, there is the following passage: "Celestinus papa .... constituit ut psalmi CL ante sacrificium psallerentur antiphonatim ex omnibus; quod antea non fiebat, nisi tantum epistola Pauli recitabatur, et sanctum Evangelium" .... Here we have, as also in some other similar passages, evident proof that Wyclif quotes from this work, though very considerably interpolated, as we have seen from other extracts that are nowhere to be found. 28. St. Gregory the Great (590) was the 65th Pope.

in tua pace disponas,' 'ab eterna dampnacione nos eripi', et 'in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari.' Oracionem quoque dominicam post canonem super hostia censuit recitari. Simacus 53us omni die dominico vel natali martirum Gloria in excelsis ad missam cantari constituit; quem ymnum Celestinus Telesphorus papa a beato Petro nonus nocte tantum natalis domini admissas a se in ipsa constitutas cantari instituit, et in eo ad angelorum verba que sequuntur adiecit. Gelasius 47us tractus et ymnos composuit, et sacramentorum prefaciones tanto zelinato sermone dictavit. Innocencius
A 122d 38us pacis | osculum ante communionem dari decrevit; Leo 43us, qui in omeliis declamandis multum invaluit, addidit in canone 'sanctum sacrificium, inmaculatam hostiam.' Damasus 36us, 'Credo in unum deum' cantari
B 127b instituit ex decreto sancte universalis | Synodi a centum 50 episcopis Constantinopoli celebrate. Allexander 6us ad consecracionem eukaristie instituit, quod sicut de latere crucifixi domini effluxit sangwis et aqua, ita aqua vino misceatur in ipsa consecracione; nec vinum sine aqua,
S. nec aquam sine vino offerri debere decernens. Sixtus 7us ympnum Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, cantari instituit; Sergius 80us ultimum hoc instituit, ut inter communicandum 'agnus dei' a clero cantetur.

and put in the Lord's Prayer.

Pope Symmachus ordained that the *Gloria* should be sung out of Christmas-tide.

Pope Gelasius composed the Tracts, hymns and Prefaces; Innocent, Leo, Damasus, Alexander, Sixtus and Sergius also made some changes.

Sic studiosa divine legis ecclesia Romana paulatim de thesauro suo protulit nova pietatis monimenta, et quoddam velud ex auro lapidibusque preciosis religiosi officii sancto sacrificio fabrefecit ydioma. Non quidem sanccius hinc est quod erat prius, cum ad sola verba domini solamque dominicam oracionem consecrabatur. Sed maxime docuit, ut fides que adhuc erat illo tempore rudis et, ut ait quidam, tam doctus quam fidelis:

. . . .'*Agresti turbida culti*
Nuda humeros, intonsa comas, exorta lacertos'

A 123a ubi ornari | potuit maxime in hac parte, tanquam in capite suo deauraretur, et earum rerum que superius dicte sunt veneranda similitudine fulgeret."

Thus the Roman Church has little by little, adorned the Ritual of the Mass with rites; faith, no less sacred than before, is more splendid now.

9. sequentur ABD. 11. zelimato CD. 15. Damasius D. 17. celebrante B. 20. ipsa *deest* D. 21. aqua B. 31. in illo BCD. 34. comis BCD; *ib.* sacerdos BCD. 36. deauretur BCD.

4. Symmachus (498): 52nd Pope. 6. St. Telesphorus (127): 8th Pope. 9. St. Gelasius (492): 50th Pope. 11. St. Innocent I (402): 41st Pope. 13. St. Leo the Great (440): 46th Pope. 15. St. Damasus (366): 38th Pope. 17. St. Alexander (109): 6th Pope. 21. St. Sixtus I (119): 7th. 23. Sergius I (687): 85th.

These ceremonies certainly aid piety, though not so safe as the first ones, instituted by Christ. The same may be said of other rites, good only in so far as they incite to Christ's love. Still, it would be better if we could do without them. We are far from the fervour of early times.

Licet autem verisimile sit, quod modus quem observarunt Christus et sui apostoli fuit securior et plus prodesset ecclesie, tamen iste modus superadditus multis prodest. Et sic de multis sanctorum canonisacionibus, de multis festorum celebracionibus et aliis perpetuis institucionibus; certum quidem est quod omnia talia precise de tanto sunt laudabilia, de quanto excitant ut Christus plus ametur. Sic quod, si Christus | plus (B 127^c) amaretur ab ecclesia, non existente solemnitate festivitatis alicuius apostoli vel sancti citra Christum, nec ordinacione adiecta de cultu ecclesie, plus prodesset ecclesie quam modo proficit. Cuius veritas ex isto convincitur quod ante omnia hec plus profuerunt ecclesie actus apostolici; et multiplicatis successive hiis ritibus continue plus fuerant peiorati. Ideo videtur quod nec propter questum, nec fastum, sed pure propter honorem dei, excitante revelacione, sunt talia acceptanda.

Solomon was perhaps wrong in giving such splendour to public worship; and we are under a new dispensation. This argument would allow concubines, and burnt-offerings, &c.

Nec movet de David et Salomone, tum quia non (T.) docetur quin ipsi in hoc peccaverunt, tum eciam quia multi ritus fuerunt in eis liciti, qui propter adventum figurati et attencionem ad sensum misticum sunt hodie omittendi, creditur templum Salomonis et eius ornamenta fuisse destructa. Nec oportet prelatos nostros propter eorum consequenciam habere totidem concubinas vel premi purgacionibus | et oblacionibus bestiarum cum (A 123^b) ceteris ritibus. Sicut igitur ipsi et gesta sua signarunt Christum venturum, qui iam venit et alleviavit onus illud importabile, sic debemus servando eius libertatem secundum sapienciam suam veteres ritus excutere: et sic melius foret ritus huius sacramenti et alios introductos dimittere, nisi ad amorem Christi promoverent, et per consequens ad observanciam legis sue.

The lies of these last times have given too great prominence to these ceremonies. Everything depends, not on the act, but on the spirit in which it is done.

Sed multiplicata mendacia circa sacramentum altaris maioritas observancie ritus novelli supra virtutes; et sic distraccio a magis bono videntur multis concludere quod melius foret multiplicitatem istam dimittere. Melius, (Amos VII, 14) inquam, foret vellere siccomoros in maiori caritate quam audire | quotquot missas cum oracionibus numerosis (B 127^d) profusis, quia magis virtuosum. Sic enim baptista, qui nunquam audivit missam, manducavit meritorius corpus Christi. Sic enim loquitur Christus de bibicione vini,

10. nec *pro* vel D. 17. attemptanda C. 19. peccaverant A; *ib.* et *pro* eciam B. 26. figurant BCD. 28. illud eis C. 36. fore A; *ib.* multiplicacionem BCD. 41. scilicet quam tales *in marg.* A.

hoc est, sangwinis sui Math. XXVI et Luc. XXII quem biberet novo modo post mortem; sicut loquitur Augustinus super Johanne, omelia 25ª. Manducacio autem sacramentalis non proficit, nisi de quanto subservit man- A 123c ducacioni spirituali, que fit in anima. | Illa vero per se sufficit, cum implicat virtutem et meritum ex memoria passionis et viacionis Christi a corpore suo mistico, quod est ecclesia imitandum.

This is Augustine's doctrine.

V. Sunt autem tres famosi obiectus ut sepe repecii; primo videtur quod si corpus Christi sit hostia consecrata et quelibet eius particula, cum infinita sunt huiusmodi, corpus Christi foret infinita contrarie accidentata; vel ex alio latere quodlibet illorum foret idem in numero cuilibet eorum. Ad istud sepe dictum est quod foret insolubile, nisi quia corpus Christi est *equivoce* et non *ydemptice* aliquod illorum. Et illud docet Augustinus, ut recitat decretum de consecracione, distinccione 2ª capitulo. "*Non hoc* corpus," inquit: "quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri estis illum sangwinem quem effusuri sunt illi, qui me crucifigent; ipsum quidem et non ipsum; ipsum invisibiliter et non ipsum visibiliter," "necesse est", inquit, "illud celebrari visibiliter; sed necesse est ut illud invisibiliter intelligatur". Ubi patet quod Augustinus equivocat modo scripture. Et cum utraque pars sit concedenda cum Augustino, quia propter equivocacionem non est contradiccio, manifestum est quod ipse vere intelligit quod corpus Christi non A 123d B 128a est comedendum secundum illum modum | substancialem, | corporalem, vel dimensionalem, quem habet in quantum illud corpus. Et propter illum modum essendi equivocum, patet quod deficit discursus sylogisticus in ista materia. Non, inquam, oportet, si panis ille frangitur, comeditur vel putrescit, et ille sit corpus Christi, quod ipsum corpus propterea sic movetur, quia est equivoce corpus Christi; et sic movetur taliter in hostia, sed non sic movetur, quia non sic movetur in sua substancia; multiplicatur tamen, cum sit multorum singulum.

Three great objections to the Eucharist. I. That 'Christ's body being everywhere the Host, each Host would be every other; it is soluble by our distinction alone.

Augustine says that the Body we eat is and is not the same as that which was crucified; the same invisibly, not visibly.

Here syllogisms fail, because of the difference in the very modes of being.

Secundo argumentatur quod corpus Christi sit quelibet eius pars quantitativa, ut puta caput, pedes, manus etc.

II. 'Christ's Body in the Sacrament is

6. virtutem *deest* A; virtutem C. 12. accidencia B. 15. quod BCD. 22, 23. necesse — sed necesse *deest* A. 30. per C. 34. qui BCD. 36. quia — in *deest* A. 38. arguitur BD.

1. Aug. Tract. XXV. In Joh. Migne, t. 35, p. 1602. 17. Decr. Grat. 3ª Pars. Dist. II, c. 45.

identical with His head, feet, &c. So His head is there identical with his feet!'

quia quelibet talis pars est illud sacramentum quod est corpus Christi. Cum ergo quecunque sunt eadem alicui tercio sunt eadem inter se, videtur quod omnes ille partes idem corpori Christi sunt idem inter se. Hic X. suppono quod fiat locucio de substanciali ydentitate numerali: et tunc patet, quod conclusio est inpossibilis.

Answer: If we speak of substantial identity, the conclusion is wrong; if of Christ's mystic members, and their union in charity, it is right.

Sed videtur secundum logicam apostoli quod est quedam similitudo ad sensum misticum vel sacramentalem; ita quod, sicud sacramentum est corpus Christi et singule eius partes, sic quicunque predestinati sunt qualiacunque membra corporis Christi mistici. Scribit enim apostolus 1ª Cor. X: "Unum corpus et unus panis multi sumus | omnes, qui de uno pane et uno calice participamus"; hoc est, omnes predestinati qui participant eukaristia quoad meritum vel premium, nedum sunt unum corpus natura, sed unum corpus Christi, quod est ecclesia, et ipsa est quodammodo unus panis. Ideo, ad Rom. XII. "Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo; singuli autem alter alterius membra." Sicut enim hostia consecrata est sacramentaliter corpus Christi, et quodlibet eius membrum, sic est quodammodo sancta mater ecclesia et quodlibet eius membrum. Idem | dicit auctor De divinis officiis, quod "in sacramento altaris, nedum est corpus Christi et concomitancia angelorum sed tota ecclesia; et sicut ipsa hostia et quelibet eius particula est corpus Christi et quodlibet eius membrum, sic mistice quodlibet membrum ecclesie est quodammodo Christus Jesus, ut locuntur multi sancti; et quodlibet membrum ecclesie debet esse mistice qualecunque membrum alterius; ut prelatus nedum est stomachus, oculus et sic de aliis membris ecclesie, sed debet esse in consilio membrum cuilibet alteri eius membro; quia, ut docet apostolus, debemus esse singuli alter alterius membra".

I. Cor. X, 17 — A 124ª — Rom. XII, 5 — B 128ᵇ

For the Sacrament is mystically the whole Church; and each of its members ought thus to belong to and be in another.

III. If all the members of Christ are in the Host, they are there with all their shapes, &c.

Y. Sed tercio obiciunt carnales: si corpus Christi et omnia | eius membra sunt vere in hostia, tunc quantitas, figura et continuacio illorum membrorum est consequenter in ipsa hostia. Et ad istud vellent carnales urgere me per sua mendacia, non per argumenta, ut concedam corpus Christi esse septipedale in hostia et quomodocunque figuratur, vel qualificatur in celo secundum

A 124ᵇ

2. et est CD. 11. corpori D. 16. idem *corr.* A; *ib.* naturaliter CD. 18. Ideo dicitur CD. 19. sic CD. 21. et *deest* AB. 22. Ideo CD. 30. debet esse BCD. 39. nec BCD.

aliquod accidens corporale. Sed sensus et racio fidei contradicunt. Conceditur igitur quod corpus Christi est non quantum, non figuratum, non corporaliter qualificatum ibi, quia est spiritualiter et non dimensionaliter ibi. Verumtamen corpus Christi non est non quantum vel non corporee qualificatum, quia tunc non esset alicubi illo modo. Corpus Christi igitur non habet in hostia aliquem modum proprie substancialem illi corpori, quia tunc posset esse ibi illo modo, cum hoc quod non esset per alium locum, quod esse non potest. Conceditur tamen quod accidentaliter et secundum modum sibi accidentalem est in celo, cum sit ibi substancialiter. Et impossibile est aliquod corpus esse alicubi substancialiter, B 128c nisi fuerit ibi accidentaliter, | sed econtra. Quia quamvis sit in hostia corpus Christi modo quo uniuntur partes eius ad invicem, et modo quo anima sua actuat corpus A 124c illud, tamen ille est modus alius, quia | modus spiritualis corporis; qui deficit sibi in celo. Unde modus substancialis est prior naturaliter quam modus unionis anime cum corpore, vel parcium quantitativarum ad invicem, cum sit modus materialis quo est illa attonia. Nec latet logicos quomodo iste termini substancialiter et secundum substanciam possunt quandoque sumi cathegorice et quandoque sincathegorice et sic reduplicare immediate secundum causalem et condicionalem et alias mediate, quod logici negant de isto termino *in quantum*. Corpus itaque Christi non habet in hostia aliquod accidens formale, sed loco quantitatis habet corpus Christi ibi magnitudinem virtutis, et loco qualitatis corporalis habet ibi qualitates spirituales, et loco continuacionis membrorum suorum habet ibi graciam continuandi per caritatem membra ecclesie ad invicem et cum Christo.

Answer: His members are there spiritually, not dimensionally.

Though Christ's body *has* dimensions, it has none *qua* in the Sacrament.

But in Heaven it has all its dimensions, being there substantially.

Terms that signify a substance can be taken either for what they denote or for something similar.

Thus instead of dimensions, Christ has greatness of virtue.

Sic igitur instruendus est populus quod sacramentum altaris est secundum suam naturam panis et vinum, sed secundum verbi dei miraculum est corpus Christi et sangwis. Et dicendum est scolasticis quod sacramentum, secundum quod panis aut vinum, subiectat naturaliter omnia illa accidencia que sentimus; sed secundum quod corpus Christi, confert graciam fidelibus ipsa dignis. Istam autem sentenciam propono publicare

The People and the learned are to be taught the same thing in different terms: that the Eucharist, natural bread, is Christ's sacramental body.

14. accidenter B. 15. sit *deest* B. 19. natura BCD. 21. attoma C. 27. inquam BCD. 41. dignius B.

Conclusion: a challenge to the sign-worshippers. This doctrine will be published, let them set forth theirs; and let God multiply the number of the faithful.

in populo. Et cultores signorum iuxtaponant suam sentenciam, quod sacramentum ipsum sit agregacio accidencium sine substancia subiecta: Deus autem qui donavit hoc donum noticie, et | odit mendacia, multiplicabit secundum dignitatem capacium fidei veritatem. Certum, inquam, est, quod multiplicata apostasia generacionis signa querencium multiplicanda est errorum varietas in hoc venerabili sacramento. B 128d

Explicit Tractatus de Apostasia Magistri Johannis Wiclef doctoris ewangelici.

9. Explicit tractatus de apostasia per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi requiescat in pace C; Explicit tractatus de apostasia per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi D; per reverendum doctorem J. W. cuius anima per misericordiam altissimi requiescat in pace. Amen B. 10. Respice finem 1517 A *alia manu.*

INDEX.[1]

[1] According as *subject matter* or *words* are taken as guides, an index approaches on one hand to a mere summary, on the other, to a concordance. But there are already two summaries, one in the Introduction, and the other in the side-notes; and to write a complete concordance would be useless and impossible. I have endeavoured therefore, to restrain the scope of this Index chiefly to what is most interesting and strikes most. Quotations from the Fathers being very numerous, I have taken especial pains with them; not however always repeating the reference, if the same quotation occurs several times.

Vindobonae, Carolus Fromme, typogr. C. et R. Aulae.

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